# Constructing social reality in conversation: a generic and transitivity analysis of life history texts

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**COMPULSORY DECLARATION**

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: Signed by candidate Date: 11-20-07

**Thesis abstract**

Language is a primary medium through which members of society construct a social reality in which they may meaningfully conduct day-to-day lives. The choices speakers make in language encode experiences and notions of the world in particular ways but may be constrained by context. In this study, I analyze the life history interviews of two gay black HIV-positive South African men to explore how speakers use contextually-available linguistic resources to negotiate meaning. Linguistic resources of speech genre, story type, and transitivity offer structural options to speakers but also introduce constraints. Using Fairclough's Foucauldian conception of 'orders of discourse', I establish that life history interviews are a unique hybrid of genre types that draw on conventions of casual conversation and interview genres, providing speakers with new resources for articulating their social world. Generic analysis, incorporating insights from Fairclough (1995), Eggins and Slade (1997), and systemic functionalism, is used to examine the story types that speakers may draw upon to structure their experiences. Given structural and functional constraints within story types, I look at the transitivity choices that speakers make to represent their social realities. Transitivity analysis, also based on systemic functionalism, is used to investigate choices of process (verbs) and their associated participants (nouns) that encode speakers' experiential meanings. The purpose of this study is threefold: to establish that the genre of life history interviews offers speakers opportunities to negotiate power relations and influence genre conventions; to demonstrate that generic analysis may be usefully applied to oral texts to understand speakers' deeper systems of life order; and to describe through generic and transitivity analysis the individual social realities of two gay HIV-positive men. Results include a structural analysis of life history interviews, a structural argument for including Observation and Reminiscence texts within the 'story' typology, and an in-depth analysis of two unrepresented voices of South Africa's HIV/AIDS epidemic.

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Transcript conventions

| *Symbol* | *Meaning* |
|---|---|
| . | end of breath unit, usually a fall in intonation (associated with the end of a clause or sentence) |
| ? | rise in intonation |
| (.) | noticeable pause. (One dot = 0.5 seconds, approx.) |
| = | latching (second speaker's comment follows directly on the first speaker's comment) |
| ! | backchannel (a minimal response that does not interrupt the turn of the first speaker) |
| [ ] | overlapped contributions |
| / | false start (i.e. start/restart) |
| - | self-interrupted talk (speaker revises content while speaking) |
| CAPITALS | indicate increase volume |
| *italics* | decrease in volume (e.g. whispered) |
| **bold** | emphatic stress |
| : | elongated vowel |
| ( ) | unclear talk (words inside parentheses are transciber's guess. Number of syllables that are unclear may be included.) |
| {laugh} | paralinguistic sounds |
| (( )) | non-verbal information supplied by transcriber |

Coding abbreviations

| | |
|---|---|
| Material | **act**: Actor (doer)<br>Animate<br>inanimate<br>**goal**: Goal (affected entity)<br>**cir**: Circumstance<br>**Mad**: (directed action process)<br>**Man**: (non-directed action process) |
| Relational | **car**: Carrier (topic of clause)<br>**attr**: Attribute (description of comment about the topic)<br>**R**: relational process |
| Mental | **sens**: Sensor (conscious being that is perceiving, reacting, or thinking)<br>**phen**: Phenomenon (that which is sensed)<br>**M**: mental process |
| Verbalization | **say**: Sayer (indiv. who is speaking)<br>**targ**: Target ( addressee)<br>**verb**: Verbiage (that which is said)<br>**V**: verbalization process |

Color codes for process choices

Process = (*undecided* label)
Material= who or what does what to who or what?
Action (actor-action-goal)
(directed action)
(non-directed action)
Event (event-goal)

Relational = being, becoming, having (carrier-process-attribute)

Mental= cognition, perception, affection (sensor- process- phenomenon)

Verbalisation = processes of saying (sayer-process- target-verbiage)

# Chapter One
# Introduction

## 1.1. The topic

In this thesis I examine the life history interview texts of two HIV-positive black gay men for their representations of the world as they see it. I am primarily concerned with context and constraints in my in-depth textual analysis. By examining the multi-layered discursive context in which each text was produced, I describe aspects of the narrators' worlds as they represent them while keeping my interpretations firmly within the context of the interview texts.

Context is at the forefront of my analysis because of a great fallacy about language that can too easily cloud our understanding of texts such as life history interviews. That fallacy centers on the presumed democracy of language that in turn rests on two problematic assumptions. The first is that all speakers of a language have the same linguistic resources to represent their reality regardless of the speech context. The second is that language is transparent and therefore that what we hear someone say is the result of a simple process of transmission between two speakers. Both assumptions leave unacknowledged important mediating factors of context. Anyone conducting in-depth analysis on oral texts must seriously consider how the context structures what is said and how it constrains other possible speech. In this thesis I offer a methodology and resulting analysis for understanding texts such as life history interviews as fully as possible. The methodology and analysis may be of particular use to researchers working with oral history texts. The methodology may also be usefully applied to medical examination texts, psychological interviews, or other oral texts to examine the roles of context and power in the speech situation.

This research is also important because of the narrators involved. The South African HIV/AIDS epidemic is currently among the worst in the world.[1] The numbers that are typically offered up to communicate the gravity of the situation[2] do not give space to the actual voices of the epidemic such as those that this study seeks to capture. The narrators form part of the large HIV-infected section of South Africa's population but they also belong to a group that is given little attention in the South African HIV/AIDS context: gay men.

Politically, gay men receive almost no attention in public policy on HIV/AIDS prevention, care, or treatment. The South African government's highest planning document on HIV/AIDS gives no mention of gay men, and instead focuses on youth (Department of Health of South Africa 2000).[3] National infection rates among gay men are

[1] According to UNAIDS Report on the Global HIV/AIDS epidemic 2002, South Africa has the seventh highest adult prevalence rate.
[2] UNAIDS estimated HIV prevalence among 15-49 year olds at 20.1% which translated to approximately 4.7 million South African adults living with HIV or AIDS in 2002 (UNAIDS 2002).
[3] However, the Director of the AIDS Directorate, Dr Nono Simelela, noted that their operational plan of 2001 included gay men (Stein 2001: 17-18).

unknown because of the absence of funding for a seroprevalence survey and the governmental strategy that targets interventions to the widest possible population (Stein 2001: 18).[4]

My surveys of South African HIV/AIDS studies uncover very few studies on gay men. Published work done specifically on gay men is largely confined to early epidemiological reports, since the first South African infections were among gay white men in the early to mid 1980s (see Anderson et. al. 1983, Isaacs and Miller 1985). Occasional unpublished Masters Theses have focused on HIV-positive white men, invariably from a clinical psychology point of view (see McDonald 1994, Horwitz 1999).[5] A personal account of the HIV epidemic among gay white men in the 1980's by Pegge (1995) is one of the few experience-based publications on the topic (301-310). Aside from the few life histories of HIV-positive gay men that are currently in the Gay and Lesbian Archives at University of Witwatersrand, there has been no investigation into the way black HIV-positive men see and experience their sero-conversion status or construct their lives in general. As members of a group which is not considered in public policy, scarcely represented in academic study of the epidemic, and only recently included in popular history archives, gay black HIV-positive men have a largely ignored position in the social history of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. With the contributions of life histories in this thesis, two men make important deposits into the still-paltry account of experiences of gay men in the South African HIV/AIDS epidemic.



### 1.2. Sketch of the study

This study looks at three structural levels that make up the discursive context of two life history interview texts. Life history interviews are a type of speech activity and have certain conventions of style, interviewer-narrator relationship, etc. that constrain what is talked about and how. These conventions make up the *orders of discourse* of the context. The second level is the types of stories that speakers use to structure their experiences. Genres such as stories occur within life history texts and also form part of the discursive context, introducing constraints as well as possibilities for social reality construction. Finally, the verbs, nominal entities, and circumstances that speakers choose come from a range of options known as the *transitivity system* and play a role in encoding aspects of speakers' views of the world. I use orders of discourse analysis, generic analysis, and transitivity analysis to place the life history texts within their proper contexts, detailing the constraints on and opportunities for social reality construction that each level of context provides. Taken together, my tri-level analyses yield an informed and nuanced understanding of the social reality each speaker constructs while recounting aspects of his life.

[4] A non-representative study of sexual behavior and risk taking among gay men of Cape Town found that 8% of the 200 sampled men disclosed that they were HIV-positive, while one-third reported engaging in unprotected sex with a male partner of unknown HIV status in the last year (Boxford 2001).

[5] Abstracts of other unpublished work can be found among the proceedings of the International Conference on AIDS (1989-1998). Non-profit organizations are often authors of these papers.

### 1.3. Structure of the thesis

This thesis is organized into three primary chapters as well as an Introduction and Conclusion. Chapter 2 introduces the main social and linguistic concepts, the approaches, and the methodologies of this research, highlighting the shared theoretical assumptions that bind my chosen methodologies into interrelated tools for analysis. In Chapter 3, I detail my data collection process and my data analysis tools, describing and illustrating how I use orders of discourse, transitivity, and generic analysis in investigating the life history texts. In that chapter I also give my five-step procedure for analyzing the texts in terms of story types and transitivity choices. Chapter 4 features my actual analysis of the texts. Here I establish the discourse conventions of life history interviews in general and analyze the orders of discourse associated with each of my interview texts. Within the context of these conventions, I apply the five-step genre and transitivity procedure to each text. Finally, I draw together the results from each level of analysis and make my case for the utility of undertaking a full context analysis when working with oral texts.

This is by no means a representative or generalizable study of HIV+ gay men. Conclusions remain limited in scope. However, given that there exists no published studies on this group and no official records for public consumption, this study does fill a knowledge gap. In-depth, detailed analysis of the construction of reality through transitivity and story structure reveal two voices of the epidemic that otherwise would have been unrecorded, and whose experience of reality would have remained within friendship networks, never reaching a wider audience.

# Chapter Two
# Concepts

In this chapter I describe in more detail the basic concepts underpinning my research and indicate their interrelatedness. Though I draw on various approaches and methodologies in my data collection and analysis, the basic tenets of each approach are derived from the same theories. The life history interview approach I use for collecting the texts is rooted in Foucault's social theory. To adapt his social theory insights to text-specific research, I integrate the language theory of systemic linguistics, which was largely influenced by Halliday. The analytical approaches I draw on are based both in Foucauldian social theory and Halliday's linguistic theory. Significant overlap is the result, making the approaches compatible with each other and ideal tools for my analysis of life history interviews. The aims of this chapter are to clearly outline each component contributing to my methodology, to highlight how theoretical aspects are related to one another, and to explain how they have contributed to my methodology.



## 2.1. Foucault and Halliday: theoretical basis

The analytical methodologies on which this study is based are built upon the ideas and works of two original thinkers: Michel Foucault and M.A.K. Halliday. While their thoughts undoubtedly could be traced further back in the intertextual chain of social and language theories, it is their particular formulations that have been adapted to form the critical discourse analysis and generic analysis approaches used here. The main tenets of Foucauldian and Hallidayan thought as they relate to my methodology are discussed below.

### 2.1.1. Foucauldian social theory

Foucault's work has been extremely influential in the humanities, social sciences, and beyond. He offers ideas that are of primary concern to this study; namely, that discourse is the result of rules that constitute areas of knowledge. Foucault's earlier "archaeological" work traces the rules that formulate fields of knowledge such as history, psychology, and medico-scientific disciplines, as well as sociohistorical concepts of madness, sexuality, etc. He establishes that fields of knowledge, whether they are disciplines or concepts, are discursively formulated, and do not exist prior to this formulation process. Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis also integrate his "genealogical" work on the knowledge-power relationship, but, as I discuss power primarily from the perspective of critical discourse analysis (CDA), I review relevant ideas on power in Section 2.3.1.

Foucault's "base" concept is *discourse*. Foucault sees discourse as a system of representation, "a group of statements which provides language for talking about – a way of representing knowledge about – a particular topic at a particular moment..." (1972: 44). Discourse is about the production of knowledge through language (and other social practices). It governs the way a topic is talked about in a certain context and historical period of time, and it

influences how ideas surrounding the topic are thought about and actualized in speech and other discursive practices. Discourse restricts alternative ways of talking about a topic or of constructing knowledge about it (1972: 44).

The approach to this paper that I use is largely rooted in Foucault's notion of discourse as *constitutive* – constructing the social entities and relations it refers to through social practices and text production. The concept underlying this claim is that discourse is not passively referring to given objects or 'truths' in reality, but discourse is actively constructing meanings, objects, subjects, and 'truths' of reality. Foucault's notion of discourse as *transformative* – combining different discourses or discourse elements to alter constitutive elements or to produce a new discourse altogether – is also highly relevant (1972). The transformative aspect of discourse is particularly relevant in investigating relatively new discursive formations such as life history interviews. A discursive formation is made up of rules of formation that apply to the particular set of statements (orders of discourse) that belong to it. Orders of discourse form what is talked about, who does the talking, the arena or sphere of life in which the discursive formation can exist, as well as the concepts invoked and the strategies used to implement the discursive possibilities (1972: 31-9).

I use orders of discourse to highlight similarities and differences between the conventions associated with interviews, casual conversation, and life history interview genres to understand better the range of possibilities that exist for speakers in life history interviews. As I use a rearticulated version of 'orders of discourse', preferring to focus on transformation and speaker agency, I further discuss orders of discourse and its particular usefulness in my study below under 2.3.1. Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis.

Foucault's insights on social subjects are particularly relevant to this paper – especially to the view I take on identities of participants in the study – and deserve inclusion. Within a field of statements, there are subject positions associated with a particular discourse that a speaker must occupy in order to exist within the discourse, but this subject position exists as a function of statements produced. According to Foucault, social subjects who produce statements within a certain discourse are not independent sources but are as much constituted by the discourse as objects. They are a function of the statement. Investigating the subject position is not analyzing the relationship between the subject and what is said but instead how what is said creates a particular kind of position that must be occupied if the statements are to be heard (Foucault 1972: 95-6).

Discourse, in this formulation, has a major role in constituting social subjects, whose identities are not pre-existing but shaped in part by language (and by discursive practices in total). Foucault's decentering of the subject has many implications; among them is that discourse constitutes subjects in certain ways by prescribing a place to speak from within a discourse, by defining what statements to say in order to be recognized as a speaker, and by dictating how to be heard. Social identities, thus, are discursively constructed via language and social practices (Foucault 1972: 95-6). However, subject positions, like other elements in orders of discourse, can be transformed throughout time, in specific contexts, or through individual acts of speaker agency resulting in transformation at the discursive level.

I position both the participants in this study and the speech they produce from a socially constructive viewpoint. I identify them by certain identities they portray (perform[6]) – as black, gay, and male – but consider each of these identities to be socially constituted rather than 'natural'.[7] Further, it is important to consider that certain of these identities, as well as HIV-status, were pre-constructed and pre-assigned to the participants by my manner of initiating and introducing the interview. Discursively and socially, the identities of black, gay, male and HIV-positive are constructed. While it is not the aim of this study to detail how each identity is constructed in the context of the interview, it is important to acknowledge that I assume these identities to be the results of social construction. While of limited methodological significance, this ideological assumption forms an aspect of the study and is a Foucauldian derivative. I further disclose my personal and ideological investments in this research in section 3.1.

One of the great benefits of Foucault's work is that he does not confine his topic within an academic field and its associated slice of knowledge but instead focuses on knowledge itself and on discourses that constitute knowledge. Foucault does not see discourse as limited to language but as encompassing a whole range of social practices that collectively function to constitute a 'discursive formation' or discourse. Therefore, the discourse analysis he proposes is not specifically restricted to language use. Instead he is concerned with analyzing the system of rules that regulate the existence and function of certain sociohistorical areas of knowledge while simultaneously disallowing others. However, when working within a discipline that is actively involved in constituting a specific slice of knowledge (as linguistics constitutes language), it is practical to apply social-theory based analysis through the medium of a more local, discipline-based approach. To use Foucault's social theory concepts for text-based analysis, an analytical linguistic framework is needed. Critical linguistics (on which CDA is based) recognizes this need and combines Foucault's social theory with the semiotic aspects of Halliday's systemic functional linguistics, as will be described below.



### 2.1.2. Halliday and Systemic functional linguistics

The systemic functional approach to linguistics, developed and elaborated principally in Australia ("Sydney school") since the late 1970's, views language as a resource for making meaning in social interactions, accentuating the functionality of language in everyday life. Michael Halliday has been most credited with the development of systemic linguistics, and his work and ideas form the basis for much of the systemic functionalism approach I describe here and draw upon in my methodology. [8] I also draw on Eggins (1994) and Eggins and Slade's (1997) summary of systemic functionalism in the following outline of the major claims and ideas of the approach. Additionally, I introduce transitivity, which forms a separate component of my analysis methodology. Conceptually,

[6] For influential work on how gender (and other socially constructed ascriptions) is performed by individuals in daily life, see Butler (1990).
[7] See Moore (1994) and Butler (1990) for discussion on how gender is socially constructed, Diamond (1994) for the social construction of race, and Foucault (1978) and Weeks (1986) for the social construction of sexuality.
[8] Halliday acknowledges Firth's system-structure theory and the ideas of the Prague school in developing aspects of his theory (1985: xxvi-xxvii).

transitivity is so firmly a part of Halliday's theory of language that I introduce it within its proper context. Other concepts central to my analysis methodology are described in 2.3.

Like Foucault, systemic functionalists join the analysis of texts with the sociocultural context in which they are produced to form an integrated understanding of how people use language to make meaning and accomplish tasks in everyday interactions. Systemic linguists root their theory in four crucial claims about language: 1) language use is functional; 2) its primary function is to make meanings; 3) the sociocultural context in which meanings are exchanged influences how meanings are constructed and interpreted; and 4) language use is a semiotic process of meaning-making through a series of choices (Eggins 1994: 2).

The first two claims are very closely related and point to the description of systemic functionalism as a functional-semantic approach to language (Eggins 1994: 2). Language is purposeful and has a goal: to make meaning. Within this overarching goal, three levels of meaning are made in language. Ideational meaning is concerned with understanding the environment in which speakers (meaning-makers) live, and interpersonal meaning functions to relate the speaker to others in the environment. Textual meaning functions to organize a text as a cohesive unit (Halliday 1985: xiiv). These meanings, taken together, relate to the third claim of the importance of context. The various levels of meaning which are constructed in language are influenced by the social context of the speech activity and must therefore form a part of the analysis process. In this research, the discursive context that Halliday, Eggins, and Foucault refer to is analyzed as orders of discourse.

According to Halliday, "A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality, to make sense of their experience of what goes on around them and inside of them" (Halliday 1985: 101). Experiential meanings, the component of ideational meaning relevant to this paper, are meanings in the text about the world, representing reality as it is constructed by the text author (speaker or writer) and conveyed to the text audience (listener or reader). Experiential meaning, as it is constructed in life history interviews, is the area of meaning construction that is analyzed in this project. Analysis of experiential meaning involves examining what topics are spoken of and how, in relation to which other topics in the text, who invokes and constructs the topic, how speakers make transitions to other topics, etc. (Eggins and Slade 1997: 49).

To analyze experiential meaning, analysis of linguistic choices is important. The base constituents that are talked about within the structure of a sentence or utterance are most familiarly called nouns and verbs; expressing that someone or something does something is the core communicative meaning of most utterances. Experiential meanings focus on actions that entities precipitate, and are elaborated by further encoding who the actions will affect, how, when, why, where, etc. (Eggins 1994: 12). When investigating how these meanings are actualized in grammar, the system of transitivity is the focal point. Transitivity refers to the verbs chosen and the associated nouns and circumstances that follow from the choice of the process (verbs). Transitivity specifies the 'doing' in processes, the entities that 'do' in participant roles (nouns), and the circumstances associated with 'doing' in the secondary

circumstantial system on transitivity (Halliday 1985: 101). Because processes and participants are highly patterned, co-occurring in certain ways to fulfill a language function, the choice of a process also implies certain participants (Eggins 1994: 220). A simple example is the process choice of Verbalization. In order for the speaker to choose a Verbalization process (e.g. 'say', 'call'), a participant who is animate, sentient, and possesses speaking abilities must also be chosen in order to realize the process. Verbalization processes require certain characteristics of participants and thus constrain the range of possible participant choices.

Transitivity analysis offers a way to analyze the choices of transitivity made by the speaker in the context in which the choices are realized. Through transitivity analysis, the analyst can decode very specific details about how the speaker experiences the world. I apply transitivity analysis to the life history texts as the main microanalysis approach to understanding each speaker's construction of social reality.

In addition to constructing experiential meaning, speech events and their component parts (e.g. clauses) give messages about the interaction between the speaker/writer and the audience of the text (Halliday 1985: 68). Through interpersonal meaning, role relationships are established, the attitudes that interactants have towards each other are expressed, turn-taking is structured and regulated amongst interactants, and so on. In this study, I concentrate on experiential meaning in text analysis, but investigate aspects of interpersonal meaning at the genre level. For example, aspects of the life history genre, particularly those conventions borrowed from the interview genre, significantly inform certain aspects of interpersonal meaning. That life history interviews take place between two people in a dialogic situation in which one person takes the role of question asker and the other as answerer sets up a power relationship between any two people adopting the genre. In generic analysis (and orders of discourse), I look at what interpersonal roles exist in the life history interview genre and also how individual narrators found space to negotiate power within the genre.

Finally, textual meaning functions to convey meaning about the message, especially in highlighting what aspects of the message are important and which are relatively unimportant (Halliday 1985: 38). Text meaning also is responsible for unifying the text and signaling it as a cohesive, structured message. Systems of theme (first position in a clause), anaphor (e.g. pronouns tracking referents), salience, etc. play a role in the organization of the text. In this study, I look at the organization of text through generic structure, isolate story types within the interview (e.g. Narrative story-texts), and describe their structure and function within the life history interview.

The fourth claim made by systemic functionalists about language – language is a semiotic system of choice-making – is a central idea on which my study is based. Language is a resource for making meaning by choosing (Halliday 1985: xxvii). Linguistic systems order the world in systems of possible options, constructing reality through the oppositions encoded in a range of language choices (Eggins 1994: 19). Within this set of socioculturally-defined meanings, speakers choose which options best convey ideational, interpersonal, and textual meanings in the speech context. Thus, the process of language use is a process of choosing meaning from a set of possible options. In

analyzing language, actual linguistic choices made by speakers are seen in relation to what they might have chosen, given their range of options (Eggins 1994: 22).

In examining orders of discourse and genre within life history interviews in general and within these life history texts in particular, my aim is to understand the discursive context as deeply as possible. This entails understanding the range of linguistic choices available within these contexts. Certain constraints allow some topics to be easily constructed, and discourage other topics. For example, in discussing one's life story, a recount of last night's football match is rather unlikely and is indeed contextually discouraged. Within the context of life history interviews, some versions of experience are more easily related, while others are discouraged by the structure used. When macro-structural constraints such as orders of discourse are examined, I can better investigate at how the transitivity choices made by participants represent their social realities.



**2.2. Concepts in data collection – Life History Interviews**

The methodology used to collect the interview texts forms an integral part of the context of the texts I analyze. Life history methodology integrates concepts of power relations, context, and discourse-as-constitutive from Foucauldian social theory. In this section I forge a working definition of 'life history' as I use it in this research, drawing on previous definitions in history and sociology, and highlight the essential concepts that distinguish life history interviews from more researcher-directed methods of gathering information. 'Life story', 'oral history', and 'life history' all refer to the basic unit that I term 'life history interview' (LH). Variations of the concept are used in psychology, anthropology (especially ethnography), history, sociology, etc. and its use and definition alter slightly depending on the discipline in which it is used (Linde 1993: 43-50).

Portelli (1998) defines oral history in terms of the relationship between participants and their role in the interview context. "Oral history [is] a sequence of verbal processes and constructs generated by cultural and personal encounters in the context of fieldwork between the narrator(s) and the historian..." (23). What is produced in oral history is a function of the context. Linde (1993) is interested in constructions of self and defines life history in opposition to autobiography and psychological life history (20). She defines a life story as: "consist[ing] of all the stories and associated discourse units, such as explanations and chronicles, and the connections between them, told by an individual..." (21). The narrator's individual experience and meaning-making is the focus of her work. I combine aspects from both of these definitions to create the working definition of 'life history interview' below.

I am interested in life history not only as a methodology but also as a speech event,[9] defined by discourse conventions. In this chapter, I offer my definition of life history interviews as a speech event. I describe the structure and function of the speech event itself as an entity produced by two participants. My definition of LH interviews

[9] "Speech events" as defined by Hymes (1972) are "activities ... that are directly governed by rules or norms for the use of speech" (56, cf. Eggins and Slade 1997: 33).

foregrounds the narrator and the meaning that is constructed in life history texts but acknowledges that this meaning is a function of the interview context.

> A life history consists of all the stories [and associated discourse elements, such as generically-structured text and interpersonal chat], told by a narrator of his/her own life experiences as a means for ordering experience and constructing meaning in the interview context.

This definition focuses on the actual text entity that I refer to as a 'life history interview'. Oral history methodology is part of to the context in which my LH texts were produced, as it informed the structure used to collect the texts. Oral history methodology was designed to record public history to inform the public rather than academics (Yow 1994: 144). Oral history is more about the meaning of events, and less about the events themselves. Narrators make sense of the past and structure their lives through speech in life history interviews (Portelli 1998a: 68). This meaning is of historical value and is a record of popular memory and popular experience.

Set within the context of the narrator's meaning-making activity with his/her life as the overall subject, specific aspect of life can be better understood as parts of a whole. This emphasis on dealing with events or aspects of meaning within the context of the narrator's life story makes oral or life history a useful data collection methodology for any context-specific study, such as the study of illness narratives (see Kleinman 1988, Frank 1995, Williams 1984 for work on illness narratives).

Oral history texts are created as the result of a relationship, and this relationship thus forms part of the interview context (Portelli 1998b: 30-31). Oral history methodology attempts to mitigate implicit power relations between interviewer and narrator, critically considers the power dynamics as part of the interview context, and strives to empower narrators through the oral history process. Not only do narrators ultimately control how the text is shaped, they are empowered through the narration experience. Through oral history interviews, narrators can put their lives into perspective, prove to themselves that their lives have been/ are worthwhile through extended meaning construction, and speak to the larger community or future generations through their recorded speech (Yow 1994: 119). This implicit empowerment function makes oral history interviews especially powerful for members of communities that society in general devalues, marginalizes, or disempowers.

Oral history methodology incorporates concepts discussed above in 2.1 and to be examined in 2.3. Its consideration of context echoes Foucault's ideas of considering speech events within their discursive context. A critical interpretation of power in the interview context is similar to the aim in critical discourse analysis of denaturalizing power relationships. As I look more closely at theoretical assumptions in the analytical tools of this research, additional links among LH, critical discourse analysis, and generic analysis will be noted.

### 2.3. Data Analysis Approaches

Four interlocking components form together the analysis used in this study. Foucault's social theory, systemic functional linguistic approach, critical discourse analysis, and generic analysis are largely related to one another. The central ideas of the two former are incorporated into the two latter, and generic analysis includes aspects of critical discourse analysis. Consequently this project is based on ideas of all four. The Halliday and Foucault theoretical contributions relevant to this study have already been introduced. Concepts of the life history interviewing approach and transitivity analysis that I draw upon in my methodology have also been outlined. In this section I explore the fundamental concepts that underlie the two remaining analytical approaches I use: generic analysis and orders of discourse analysis.

#### 2.3.1. Critical linguistics and critical discourse analysis

Critical linguistics, developed in the 1970's, positioned itself against Chomskyian-dominated linguistics and sociolinguistics by problematizing two fundamental aspects of linguistic theory: 1) the practice of treating language *systems* independently from language *use* and 2) the division between content and form. Following Halliday, critical linguistics was founded on the premise that "language is as it is because of its function in the social structure" (Halliday 1973: 65). Instead of separating content or meaning from its realization form, critical linguistics uses Halliday's conception of grammar as a system of options, a resource on which speakers draw according to their social circumstances. In this view, choices of form are always meaningful. The aim of critical linguistics, then, is to recover meanings expressed in texts by placing linguistic structural analysis alongside the wider social context in which the structures operate. This aim highlights the interdisciplinary usefulness of critical linguistics to other fields interested in aspects of social context (historians, sociologists, etc.). (Fairclough 1992: 26-27).

Critical discourse analysis highlights speakers' differential access to language resources. The discourses, genres, or styles of communication that language users have access to depend on, to a large extent, their position in the social structure (Kress 1985: 12). Language is a resource to be drawn upon, but speakers do not have equal access to all resources available. A link exists between social power and discourse access. As van Dijk notes, "the more discourse genres, contexts, participants ... [etc.] they (may) actively control or influence, the more powerful the social groups, institutions, or elites are" (1993: 256). 'Ordinary' people only have active access to and control over conversations with members of their family, work, and social group. They have little or no active access to speech genres like public speeches, business meeting agendas or reports, media reports, etc. (van Dijk 1993: 256). In CDA, power and dominance of groups is revealed by the number and range of discourse elements that they control or have active access to (van Dijk 1993: 257).

Fairclough, a main contributor of critical discourse analysis, builds on the assumptions put forth in critical linguistics. However, he accentuates the view of discourse as a domain for social struggle and transformation and the critical interpretation process of text analysis (areas he finds to be lacking in critical linguistics). His purpose for

studying discourse is to investigate resistance to dominant discourse as an avenue for achieving social change (Fairclough 1992: 8). Though speakers may have differential access to discourse and language resources, power negotiation and discourse struggles remain a feature of text creation. By contesting or mixing discourse conventions, speakers exercise power that was not discursively ascribed to them.

In focusing on subject agency and social struggle in discourse, Fairclough makes the crucial point that macro and micro analysis must co-occur. Macro analysis details language resources that speakers have in a particular context or within a particular institution to structure their speech events, such as orders of discourse. Macro analysis informs micro (textual) analysis of how resources are used. But textual analysis may uncover structure that contributes to a better macro analysis. For instance, story-texts are structured in stages that differ from one another both in function and in predominant process choice. These stages within story-texts would not be evident without textual analysis, yet they contribute to the structure of the speech event. Because of the interrelationship of micro and macro analysis, Fairclough suggests that one type of analysis entails the other (1992: 85). In focusing his approach thus, Fairclough then outlines a method that effectively marries Foucauldian social theory with textually-based systemic functionalism in the work of highlighting speaker creativity and productivity.

He argues that orders of discourse are the totality of discursive practices within an institution or society and the relationships between them and says that it may be conceived of as the structure that underlies a discursive event rather than a system of rules (Fairclough 1992: 47). Conventions associated with a discourse include **genres** (e.g. interview genre), **styles** (e.g. conversational style), **discourses** (e.g. academic discourse), and **activity type/compositional structure** (e.g. activity of bargaining) of a particular type of discourse. Taken together, these conventions constitute orders of discourse and operate at multiple levels to define and constrain discursive practice (Fairclough 1992: 125).

Discourse conventions also allow space for creative reinterpretation. The relationships between elements are not necessarily stable or well-defined (Fairclough 1992: 55). A certain style of speech may be highly associated with an activity type, as formal speech is associated with wedding ceremonies. Or, activity types may be structured to allow a range of styles, like open mic nights at a local coffee shop. Interdiscursive relationships between texts of different discourses may also be unstable. For instance, mass media increasingly draws on informal conventions of casual conversation to structure texts. Individual speakers may also creatively draw on various conventions to structure their texts. This shifting space of transformation and negotiation, where speakers reorder, remix, and reconstitute elements of discourse, accounts for the true usefulness of orders of discourse in genre investigations.

Examining orders of discourse ideally serves a dual function. It can highlight the constraints of discourse conventions associated with the institution in which the text was produced (Fairclough 1992: 104). It may also illuminate the creativity and agency social actors use in recombining discourse conventions in their own speech events. In this study, I am interested in the conventions typically associated with life history interviews and in

speakers' creative mixture of conventions from other genres. In examining the orders of discourse of the life history genre alongside discourse configurations of casual conversation and the interview genre, certain conventions overlap. Life history interviews offer a casual style that is less dependent on enforcing power relations than that of other types of interviews, but they are more structured and guided than casual conversation. I analyze the orders of discourse of life history interviews and detail the constraints the life history genre places on speaker and listener positions, topic choice, and the representation of social reality. I also analyze the way speakers draw on other conventions and negotiate a more suitable space to speak from in their interviews.

### 2.3.2. Generic analysis

Genre, as defined by critical discourse analysis, is of particular importance to this research. It not only forms a component of the orders of discourse framework I use to contextualize the life history genre in regards to related discourse types, but CDA's concept of genre also serves as a foundation on which generic analysis is based. Fairclough defines genre as "a socially ratified way of using language in connection with a particular type of social activity" (1995: 14). Genres are both social and textual categories that may be realized in a predetermined form but that are also changing, dynamic structure resources that speakers may draw on creatively. Genres structure text types (e.g. South African Masters thesis, Brazilian tabloid story, etc.) via associated conventions but also structures speech *within* texts (e.g. joke-telling, gossip, etc.). When used in this last sense, I am concerned specifically with the story genre. Accordingly, I use the term 'story-texts' to refer to various generically-structured elements within LH interviews.

Generic analysis incorporates Fairclough's characterization of genres as dynamic avenues for social change that are bound to particular social structures, as well as the functionalist, Bahktinian-inspired view of genre. Eggins and Slade (1997) review academic work done in genre and cite Bakhtin's views on the function of genres:

> "We learn to cast our speech in generic forms and when hearing other's speech, we guess its genre from the very first words; we predict a certain length and a certain compositional structure;...If speech genres did not exist and we had not mastered them, if we had to originate them during the speech process and construct each utterance at will for the first time, speech communication would be almost impossible" (1986:78).

Genres function to structure speech into recognizable patterns from which we can make deductions and expectations.

Generic analysis uses the functional definition of genre to also delineate structured texts within a text type that achieves a social purpose (Eggins and Martin 1995: 236). In Eggins and Slade's (1997) work on casual conversation, they make a key distinction between types of talk: globally structured versus locally structured. Conversation, according to them, consists of segments of 'chunk' and 'chat'. In order to describe what is functionally achieved in conversation, analysts need ways of describing both types of segments of talk (230). Within

the genre of casual conversation (as well as in LH), there are genres of stories, gossip, opinion, etc. as well as talk that is structured interpersonally rather than through genre structure. The features of length of turn, internal structure, and discernible function distinguish the chunks of genre from the shorter sections of chat (227). 'Chat' segments feature a structure that is managed locally (interpersonally) by techniques such as turn-taking and can best be investigated through micro analysis (230, 270). 'Chunk' segments, which foreground experiential meanings (especially stories), have a more global or predictable structure, making them amenable to macro approaches like generic analysis (270).

Different tasks are achieved in talk, and different genres structure the text to achieve each task. Patterning is associated with particular genres. For instance, heavy evaluative processes, first person pronouns, colloquial vocabulary, and repetition of clauses are some characteristics that distinguish an oral opinion text (Eggins and Martin 1995: 230-3). In addition to these cohesive characteristics, the "sequence of functionally distinct stages" through which a story-text unfolds is also a generically distinctive pattern (Eggins and Slade 1997: 236). For example, Labov and Waletsky (1967) established that the elements of a personal narrative are Abstract, Orientation, Complicating Action, Evaluation, Resolution, and Coda. Each element contributes to the Narrative achieving its overall purpose. Genre theory, drawing on Fairclough's genre definition, is a theory of the unfolding structure that texts progress through in order to achieve their social purposes (Eggins and Martin 1995: 236).

Functionally-distinct stages of a story-text reveal different lexico-grammatical patterns. Detailed analysis of these patterns reveals how participant roles and relationships are constructed, what process options are used, how the text is linked to its social context, etc. (Eggins and Slade 1997: 235). Linguistic approaches like transitivity analysis help explain how lexico-grammatical features of the text pattern to achieve the social purpose of the story-text. Thus, transitivity analysis is used bifunctionally in this project. It is used to reveal process, participant, and circumstance patterns within story-text stages that aid in achieving the text's function. At the same time, transitivity analysis reveals how the speaker constructs his social reality by considering transitivity choices actually made, seen in the context of those available within a given story-text.



#### 2.3.2.1. Story-texts

Of the text types (genres) that occur in conversation (including LH), stories may be the primary site of constructing and maintaining social realities and identities. Stories are sites for our representation of the world – how we construct a sequence of events and locate it in time and space – and our reactions to that world and represented events. In social contexts, we share experience, judgments, emotions, etc. with others (Eggins and Slade 1997: 229). The manner in which stories are constructed and expressed conveys features of the speaker's reality and identity; investigation into stories can shed light on those identities and sociocultural worlds (Eggins and Slade 1997: 238).

Commenting on the importance of Narratives (a privileged type of story-text), Labov suggests that the study of narratives does not allow us to prove things, but instead allows us to gain insight into perspectives while following the path of information exchanges between speaker and listener. In this information is encoded the way we understand language, social life, and life experiences (Labov 1997: 396). Narratives are speech events that are part of almost every conversation, relating experiences that range from the everyday to the extraordinary.

Labov provides a functional definition for Narrative and its structural elements, distinguishing the *referential* function (sequential events relayed in the order in which they happened) from the *evaluative* function (1997: 398). His definition of narratives of personal experience includes the specification that the sequence of events are "emotionally and socially evaluated" by the speaker. Thus it is not only sequential referential clauses that are a pre-requisite for a Narrative, but also evaluative clauses since they express the point of the Narrative. Labov privileges narratives over other structured stories, stating that Recounts or Observations, which are merely reports of events, are less likely to convey evaluative meanings (1997: 399). Evaluation makes the story worth telling and gives the reason for its existence.

Evaluation clauses are the location where speakers discuss what might have happened, what didn't happen, what they expected to happen, etc. (Labov 1997: 403). In evaluation clauses, speakers assign significant experiential value to social experiences. Though Labov dismisses structured texts like Recounts and Opinions as lacking evaluative clauses in which experiential meanings could take shape, other genre analysts have widened the definition of story-texts. Noting that 'stories' are recognizable by their 'beginning-middle-end' pattern, analysts have focused on the middle stage as the functionally distinctive stage in stories. Anecdotes, which function to convey a reaction to an event rather than present the event itself as central, contain a Reaction stage in the middle of the text (Plum 1988). Similarly, Recounts function to convey the speaker's opinion of events. Thus evaluation is not localized before a main high point event, as in Narratives, but takes pace throughout the text (Martin 1992: 565). These story-texts possess middle stages that do evaluative work, drawing on assumed cultural knowledge to point out the significance or tellability of the story, much like the Evaluation stage in Narrative story-texts (Eggins and Slade 1997: 244). In middle stages of each story-text, evaluative roles are fulfilled and experiential meanings are constructed.



#### 2.3.2.2. Illness narratives

Narrative study has not only been attended to by generic linguists. Narrative analysis, derived from Labov's work, is increasingly used in different fields to investigate how people structure their lives through text production (Reissman 1993: 1). This is primarily because the study of narrative acknowledges that narratives have a core function in our lives as "the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful" (Polkinghorne 1988: 11, c.f. Ezzy 2000). Narrative analysis is used in history (White 1973), psychology (Bruner 1990, Sarbin 1986), philosophy (Taylor 1989, MacIntyre 1981, Ricoeur 1988, 1992), and sociology (Maines 1993, Frank 1995), to name a few fields. It is also used within the medical domain to elicit and understand the deeply profound disruptions in

life, reality, and self which illness brings to the lives of the unwell (Bury 1982, Williams 1984, 1993, Kleinman 1988).

In recent generic analysis of illness narratives of cancer patients, Jordens et. al. find that the task of illness narratives is to reinstate order in a chaotic life that has been disrupted by illness; if the familiar order cannot be re-established, a new order must be created (Jordens et. al . 2001). Meaning-making does a large amount of work in these contexts to restore order. "Illness calls for stories that evaluate and give meaning to experience precisely because those meanings and valuations symbolically give order to experience" (Jordens et. al. 2001).

Generic complexity analysis done by Jordens et. al. (2001) identifies that many different genres are used in an individual's illness narrative. Their findings suggest that the greater the disruption in life due to illness, the greater the need for genre complexity to achieve the task of restoring order discursively. That is, people who experience multiple or extended hardships and life disruptions due to illness structure their narratives with greater story text variety than people whose illness has only minimally disrupted their lives. In addition, illness narratives in their study are predominantly structured as Recounts and Narratives, and less so as other story types. Within the basic function to restore order, Recounts and Narratives are found to be the main choices of genres by the ten interlocutors whose interviews are analyzed. Narratives construct the illness as a disruption to order that must be corrected, while Recounts treat illness as a (perhaps unfortunate) aberration to order that can be dealt with in ways familiar to the audience and speaker (2001).

In my research, illness narratives form only a portion of the entire life history text. Indeed an aim of life history is to contextualize reported events within a person's lifetime of experiences and minimize the external privileging of certain events over others. Nonetheless, illness narratives do feature prominently in the life history texts, as speakers seek to discursively reorder their lives, as the above research suggests. The manner in which this order is achieved is examined through analysis of transitivity, orders of discourse, and genre to form a complex picture of the social reality each speaker constructs.

As Eggins and Slade state, "the strength of a generic approach is that it stresses the relationship between language and its social context, between the linguistic realization of a text and its social and cultural function" (1997: 270). As in Foucault and Fairclough, generic analysis takes into account the orders of discourse conventions that structure the entire speech event, as well as the structural features of 'chunks' of texts. As in systemic functionalism, generic analysis highlights the function of 'chunks' like story-texts and incorporates transitivity analysis to identify stages within story-texts. Generic analysis draws on each of the other three main components of this research to form the third aspect of my analytical methodology.

## 2.4. Conclusions

In this chapter I make three main points and draw together related approaches that share these points. Firstly, the overarching theoretical assumption is that discourse is socially constructive and contextually defined. In critical textual analysis, context must be understood. Fairclough's concept of orders of discourse offers a framework for placing a text within the context of its discourse conventions. Eggins and Slade offer tools to specify the form and function of the genres that we unconsciously recognize as structuring 'story' texts. Halliday's linguistic theory provides a conception of the transitivity system that allows lexicosemantic choices to be seen in their wider meaning-making context.

Secondly, in considering the constraints of structure, we are simultaneously looking at speaker agency. This is because language is fundamentally a system of choice. While detailing the constraints on text realization in a certain discursive field, Fairclough also examines how individual texts and text producers may also draw on atypical structure or mix conventions from other genres. Eggins and Slade provide a way of examining the typical functional and structural characteristics of story-texts, based on the assumption that structures are resources for speakers as well as constraints, and Halliday argues that transitivity choices are informed by the discursive context while expressing a speaker's individual conception of reality.

Finally, I offer stories as an especially crucial spot for social reality construction. LH methodology places the life history interview as a concentrated instance of structuring and assigning meaning to our lives and highlights this aspect as integral and empowering in the interview context. Story-texts have the primary experiential function of relaying events and conveying meanings in our world to others. Constructing order through meaning-making is especially important in illness narratives where great disruption has occurred.

# Chapter Three
# Methodology

In this chapter I describe the methodology I use in my research. The chapter is divided into two main sections. In the first I describe the life history methodology I used to gather the interview texts that form my data. I also describe the process and context that gave rise to the interview-collection, and note my perceptions of my own place as a researcher, analyst, foreigner, and activist. The second section of this chapter gives an account of the three components of my analytical methodology. Here I describe in detail orders of discourse analysis, generic analysis, and transitivity analysis. Finally I outline my analysis procedure for generic and transitivity analysis and give an example of one of the primary steps as it is used in my analysis.



### 3.1. Data collection: Life history interviews

Texts used in this study were collected using oral history methodology, whose main points were reviewed in Chapter 2. This context- and power-privileging methodology was chosen because of its emphasis on conducting interviews in a way that is productive to both participants: the narrator is given space to make relatively unrestricted meanings about his life in a context that values these meanings as important, and the researcher profits from the deep context of the life history and the critical consideration of power dynamics in the interview relationship.

There was also a more locally-significant reason for my choosing oral life history as a methodology. In the South African context, there has been a groundswell of interest and research pursuits in popular memory and oral history in the last decade. Arriving from the United States to pursue a Masters degree at the University of Cape Town, I was struck by the overwhelming interest in popular oral history in academia and in the general population. An oral history methodology research module for graduate students was filled to capacity with students of social science and humanities disciplines, including architecture, economics, business, gender studies, and political science. General interest in popular memory and oral history seemed fuelled in particular by work done to reconstruct through memory the famous racially-diverse areas District Six and Sophiatown that were destroyed through the apartheid government's systematic forced removal of residents.[10] That work included research, journalistic reports, movies and documentaries, plays, and museum displays. Perhaps inspired by these historical accounts of near-mythic popular importance, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission elevated accounts of apartheid experiences of individuals to the highest level of discourse when it convened to accept oral histories and testimonies of apartheid victims as evidence of human rights crimes. In a country engaged in the long and painful process of bringing to light and understanding its own past, oral history has played and continues to play an extraordinary role in the transition from the apartheid of enforced silences. As a researcher working in a foreign context, I appreciate the value South Africans accord to oral history and attempt to add to their resources of oral history testimonies of current social experiences such as the HIV epidemic.

[10] See Field (2001) and Jeppie and Soudien (1990) for oral history work in District Six.

*Impetus of research*

Though I am presently discussing HIV/AIDS in the detached manner of academic discourse, the reader must keep in mind that this is an artificiality imposed by the conventions which privilege researcher detachment from the subject, conventions that I do my best to conform to despite a deep and abiding emotional engagement with the subject. In the following section, in which I describe the impetus for research and other details of data collection, I partially suspend conformity to these conventions. Their effect, in this highly interpersonal context, would not only be needlessly artificial but would misrepresent the process to the point of untruth.

The inspiration and impetus for this research came primarily from a group of South African lesbians who collectively said, "our gay men/brothers are dying in the townships of AIDS with no one to care for them", and who moved to intervene in some meaningful way. While attending a women's health weekend sponsored by Triangle Project, Cape Town's only gay and lesbian community service organization, concern for gay men afflicted with HIV came up again and again among the female (and lesbian-identified) attendees. By the end of the weekend, a group of concerned South African women (and myself, a vitally interested but not personally involved foreigner) had loosely formed to discuss and address the specific issue of HIV in the gay and lesbian community as well as broader issues of gay and lesbian organizing. We met over the following five or six months, brought together by a concern for HIV+ gay men and kept together by increasing community problems that arose when Triangle Project shut down their township-based Guguletu outreach office due to budget constraints. With safe-space destroyed and in fear that services would be discontinued, this dynamic group began to identify and provide for community needs themselves.

This short background is necessary to frame how I became involved in interviewing HIV+ gay men and to better explain the outcomes of the interviews themselves. I came to South Africa with in interest in HIV/AIDS, especially in the gay male population, in part because of the Western epidemic trajectory and resulting bias that connects HIV/AIDS with gay men, and in part because I identify as part of the Queer community (in U.S. terms),[11] which continues to be intimately involved in the US HIV/AIDS epidemic. While I was pre-positioned to become somehow involved in HIV/AIDS in South Africa, I was astounded by the empathy expressed for gay HIV+ men in the townships by lesbian women and the actions they took because of it. Anyone who has been a part of spontaneous community organizing will know how inspiring such a process can be. Connecting that inspiration to the more general South African empathetic interest in popular memory and experience, I aimed to contribute to both through life history interviews with gay HIV+ men living in township areas.

[11] 'Queer' is a reclaimed non-binary umbrella term used in the US to abbreviate the extensive and ever-expanding group that includes 'alternative' genders and/or sexualities. Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, transsexual, queer, and questioning people are among those included in this term.

*Contact*

My involvement with the group, alternatively known as the 'Inner Circle' and 'Ququzela', had another crucial effect. It gave me access to HIV+ gay men through friendship networks, and it gave me legitimacy in the eyes of those who offered their life stories. Without these, the texts could never have been collected. That only two were collected during six months is an achievement, especially for a researcher with no prior community contacts; a similar life history project in Johannesburg through the Gay and Lesbian Archive collected (at the time of writing) three video interviews and one audio interview in the year since its inception (Director Ruth Morgan, personal communication). Through my involvement with the lesbian group and with a larger gay and lesbian network that was partially a result of this research, many more HIV+ gay men were made known to me –often through the low whisper of a friend – but no others took the risk to contact me. In respect for their privacy, I did not directly solicit interviews from individuals.

Both participants who did contact me were urged to do so by friends who knew both of my involvement with the women's group and of my project to collect life history interviews of HIV+ gay men. We arranged to meet in safe and relatively quiet places – their home or the home of friends – where interviews were conducted in English and recorded via a digital mini disc recorder with external microphone. I knew neither of the men well, and met one for the first time at his house for the interview. I assured participants of absolute confidentiality, and they were given the choice of having the tapes destroyed after transcription, returned to them, or stored in an archive with identifying data removed. Each participant came to the interview with a description of my interest that had been conveyed to them by our mutual persuasive friends. This information undoubtedly included some mention of HIV-positiveness, gay identity, and an interview situation about their life.

*Structure of the Interviews*

In introducing the life history interview process to each of the men, I began by saying I was interested in hearing about his whole life from his childhood memories, in whatever order he chose to tell it. I would ask a few questions but he could choose not to answer and instead talk about whatever he would prefer. The important part was simply that he talk about his life.

The interviews are largely characterized by long stretches of talk by the participant, while I gave backchannelling or minimal encouraging responses. The texts are largely monologic; keeping with oral history methodology, I allowed pauses in the participant's response to go unfilled to encourage further reflection and comment (Thompson 1988: 210). It is not easy to judge what length of pause indicates a finished though; I occasionally misjudged when it was appropriate to re-initiate speech with a question, as can be seen by close reading for interruptions in the interview text in the Appendix.

The structure of each text is examined in the Analysis Chapter, but the texts generally consist of long narrator sections, followed by pauses and then by specific probe questions concerning the speech just elicited to encourage

additional reflection on the topic. If the topic-specific probe were unsuccessful, a new question taken from the interview schedule was asked. Unsuccessful questions were often yes/no probe questions while successful questions built on topics the participant initiated or were general, open-ended questions.

*Beyond the interview*

The interview ended with an intervention attempt, inspired both by the oral history methodology and by the women's group. I had developed a good relationship with Triangle Project and they provided information packs about health and support services and about safer sex techniques. Good Hope Metropolitan Community Church provided booklets about practical eating and self-care for HIV-positive individuals, and I prepared a list of HIV service organizations and contact names to help put participants in contact with useful services. Additionally, individual needs of food, warm clothing and bedding, or medicine were discussed and communicated back to Triangle Project, whose newly-developed HIV/AIDS Home Care Initiative were to provide volunteers.

One participant, David,[12] saw the interview as an opportunity to organize. I highlight his intentions and outcomes because his purpose pervades his life history interview and serves as the main function of the text. A former member of ABIGALE -Association of Bisexuals, Gays, and Lesbians-,[13] David saw a need for HIV+ gay men to come out and talk about their status. He wanted to facilitate that in any way that he could. When asked what I could do for him as part of the intervention/empowerment component of the research, he requested that I contact people to form a sort of alliance between lesbians and gay men in Cape Town townships to fight stigma and violence against gays and lesbians and to organize community support for HIV+ people, among other goals. A full account of this effort is better suited to a study of community organizing rather than a linguistic-based thesis; for the purposes of this study, it is enough to say that both participants became involved in this group that was the result of one person's vision.

*Archiving*

Finally, the empowerment role of speaking and recording one's life history was re-emphasized to the participants. A very powerful aspect of this research is the possibility of connecting people through experience. Enabling individuals to see their potential to reach other people through sharing their experiences is an act of empowerment. The option to store their interviews in an oral history archive was presented to each participant, as it is a way to preserve participants' stories, to leave a legacy for others to learn from, and to become a permanent part of the history of the South African gay community.

To ensure that the interviews are accessible to individuals or other researchers, I approached various archives interested in the experiences of HIV+ individuals, of gay individuals, or in popular history in general. I chose to work with GALA, the Gay and Lesbian Archive housed at University of the Witwatersrand, as they are especially aware of the sensitivity of information of this kind. Their consent form allows each participant to control details of

[12] Pseudonyms are used throughout the thesis as a matter of convention rather than participant request.
[13] ABIGALE was founded in 1992 in the Western Cape, a "more mass-based largely black" organization compared to the smaller groups of white gay activists within the liberation movement (Gevisser 1995: 63).

access to his interview. The participant indicates if, how, and when access to his interview will be allowed, and can even determine precisely who will have access to it and who will not. The interviews become part of an archive which focuses on the HIV+ gay community in South Africa and on documenting South African gay experiences in general.[14]

### 3.2. Data Analysis

#### 3.2.1. Orders of Discourse

A crucial aspect of the methodology used in this research is the emphasis on understanding the context in which meaning is constructed. Choices are made from constrained structures, and the way in which structures offer and constrain possible choices informs how the text expresses meaning from available options. The most general structure forming the interview texts are the elements that comprise orders of discourse. In this section I describe each element associated with orders of discourse. To explain how each element is used in this aspect of my methodology, I present the orders of discourse associated with the genre of casual conversation. In Chapter 4, I use a similar procedure to analyze the orders of discourse of the LH interview genre in general, as well as the conventions used in the two texts. As the LH interview genre draws upon casual conversation conventions, it may be useful to keep the examples of this section in mind when reading section 4.2. I draw here on casual conversation work done in Eggins and Slade (1997) throughout this section, but the orders of discourse analysis is my own.

The elements comprising a particular discourse type can be classified and their relationships to one another examined to understand how the order of discourse is constructed. **Genre** is the most overarching category, closely corresponding to types of social practice (Fairclough 1992: 126). An example is casual conversation, a social practice of everyday human interaction. Genre refers to a relatively stable set of conventions associated with a social activity and the production, distribution, and consumption processes involved in performing that activity (Fairclough 1992: 126). Unlike written genres or highly formalized oral genres such as speeches, speech in casual conversation is relatively unlikely to be circulated after it is produced, and is primarily consumed only by those who are participating in the production. This limited circulation cycle is a distinctive quality of casual conversation. As a result, participants feel able to speak 'freely', assuming little importance will be placed on what they say (Eggins and Slade 1997: 17). Exceptions to this often take the form of gossip, where what was said in a casual conversation context is reported to someone not involved in the original conversation.

Genres have particular activity types associated with them. **Activity type** refers to a range of options of semi-structured sequences of actions. Activity types also create subject positions that are recognized as necessary to perform these actions (Fairclough 1992: 126). Casual conversation takes place among people who consider themselves of roughly equal status; perceived inequalities in status yield stilted and unsuccessful casual

[14] For access to interviews in this archive, contact Gay and Lesbian Archives of South Africa (GALA), Historical Papers, Ground Floor, William Cullen Library, East Campus, University of Witwatersrand, PO Box 31719, Braamfontein, South Africa. Email: gala@library.wits.ac.za Webpage: http://www.gala.wits.ac.za

conversation. Participant roles in casual conversation are much less defined by the activity type than is the case in other genres but remain defined by social characteristics of ascribed power. The sequence of actions associated with casual conversation begins with formalized entrance talk, including greetings and requests about health, family, work, etc., and can be initiated by any participant. A general one-turn rule of comment-response applies to each participant, unless a longer turn is requested by initiating entrance into a monologic story-text like Narrative or Anecdote. Exit talk and leave-taking usually concludes the social activity (Eggins and Slade 1997).

Genres also are associated with particular **style.** Fairclough distinguishes three levels at which the style of a text can be analyzed: **tenor**, **mode**, and **rhetorical mode**. Tenor describes the relationship between participants in an interaction (Fairclough 1992: 127). In the case of casual conversation, the tenor is typically informal, even intimate, depending on the participants' relationship. Casual conversation is so highly identified by its tenor that its name encodes the primary descriptors: casual and conversational. Mode is the form in which the interaction takes place. It is often a mixture of types, e.g. spoken-as-if-written (Fairclough 1992: 127). Casual conversation prototypically occurs in the spoken mode, using our everyday speech patterns but can also occur in written form in the highly dialogic internet chat rooms or instant messaging. Finally, rhetorical mode refers to the content function of the speech event and can be classified as 'informative', 'descriptive', 'argumentative', etc. (Fairclough 1992: 127). The rhetorical modes that occur in casual conversation depends on the function of the content communicated in the interaction. As casual talk involves both the exploration of differences and the affirmation of similarities, 'argumentative' or 'affirmational' may be equally as likely to describe the rhetorical mode of a given conversation.

Finally, **discourses**, as Foucault established, are particular ways of constructing subject matter and formulating areas of knowledge. Discourses are highly autonomous among the elements comprising orders of discourse and may appear in specific genres with which they are associated (biomedical discourse in a scientific article or at a medical conference) or in hugely divergent genres as their range of influence spreads and becomes incorporated into new spheres of life (Fairclough 1992: 129). In casual conversation, discourses to which participants have access and share between each other may be brought into the speech event. Medical practitioners may describe a knee injury they sustained while skiing over the weekend in technical medical discourse familiar to all participants, or administration co-workers may discuss their teenager children by drawing on popular psychology discourse.

**Figure 3.1**
**Casual conversation conventions**

**genre**:
production: participants (2+)
consumption: participants (2+)
distribution: no formal distribution chains except gossip

**activity type**:
subject positions:
participants of roughly equal status [+ social characteristics]
sequential structure:
-Greetings, formalized entrance talk

A: one turn
B: one turn
C: one turn

*Option*: A: request for longer turn
B or C: grant request
A: longer internally structured turn

-Exit or leave-taking talk

**Style:**
tenor: informal to intimate. casual, conversational
mode: spoken or written-as-if-spoken
rhetorical mode: ranges from argumentative to affirmational

Discourses: many possible options



Texts may reflect the typical conventions associated with the orders of discourse in which they were produced; they may also reflect creative interdiscursive mixtures of several different conventions associated with various discourse types. Orders of discourse and interdiscursivity are important to this research for two reasons. Firstly, the life history interview is a rather new and rather specialized genre of social activity. It nonetheless utilizes certain associated discourse conventions and imposes a certain structure on the interaction and interactants. This means that participants in life history interviews (and, more specifically, my participants) have a certain range of choices available to them for structuring speech. To better understand the context of each text, I use the orders of discourse methodology exemplified above to establish typical conventions associated with life history interviews as described in oral history literature. My analysis of LH conventions is given in 4.2.

Secondly, because LH is a relatively uncommon genre, speakers are not necessarily familiar with its conventions, nor are they confined to drawing on only associated conventions established by the outside interviewer. LH is structurally flexible and unstable because of genre aims as I will discuss in 4.2. As a result of LH's inherent instability and the creativity of participants, the interview texts produced draw on a range of conventions, including more familiar genre conventions such as casual conversations. To understand this level of context in my interview texts, narrators' interdiscursive creativity is analyzed in 4.2.2.

### 3.2.2. Transitivity methodology

In Chapter 2, I introduced three levels of meaning in texts – interpersonal, experiential, and textual – and noted that experiential meaning, whose function is to express meaning about the world and social reality, is the aspect of

meaning examined in this research. Each aspect of my methodology is designed to examine a set of choices because, as Fairclough notes, "the set of formal features we find in a specific text can be regarded as particular choices from among the options (e.g. vocabulary or grammar) available in the discourse type which the text draws upon" (Fairclough 1992: 92). After examining the choices available within the discourse type (orders of discourse), I look at the systems of options available to the speaker to represent his social reality.

Experiential values can be expressed through different systems. Transitivity is one way to encode social reality, but other systems carry out a similar function. Unlike metaphorical systems that are useful in analyzing classification schemes, naturalized knowledge, and broader aspects of ideology, the transitivity system represents patterns of more local experience (Fairclough 1992: 194-8). Located in the clause and forming part of the grammatical system, transitivity is concerned with processes, our most basic category of reality. Transitivity categorizes types and structures of processes that are expressed in language, providing a frame for representing and interpreting our experience (Halliday 1985: 101).

The transitivity system actually contains two systems: a major system of process type and a minor system of circumstance. Analyzing transitivity structure entails the description of three clausal aspects: process selection, participant selection, and circumstance selection (Eggins 1994: 229). In general, processes are expressed by a verb phrase, the participants involved are expressed by a noun phrase, and the associated circumstances are expressed by adverbial and prepositional phrases (Simpson 1993: 88). Differences in transitivity mean differences in process type, and imply differences in associated participants and circumstances (Eggins 1994: 229).

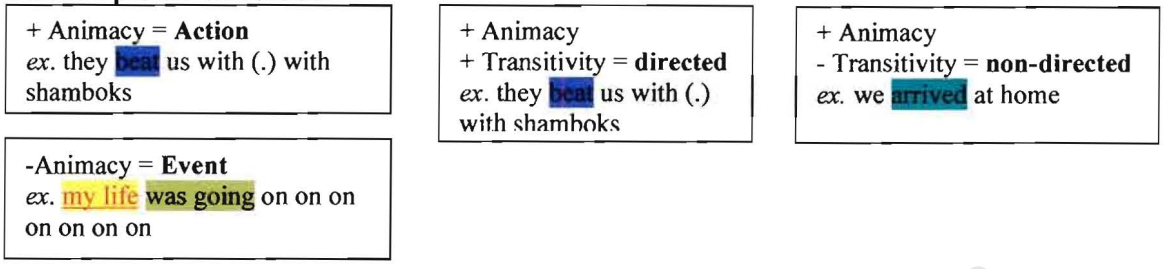
Processes can be classified according to what they represent: actions, speech, states of mind, or states of being. Each process type has obligatory participants and optional participants to realize the process. Circumstantial elements can be chosen for any process type and are less bound to processes than are participants. As I am primarily concerned with process and participant choice, I do not detail the secondary circumstantial system. The transitivity model I describe below comes from Halliday (1985), with additional distinctions and comments from Simpson (1993) and Eggins (1994).

*Material Processes*

Processes of action or doing are classified as **Material** processes. Material processes have two associated participant roles, the obligatory **Actor** and the optional **Goal**. The Actor is the 'doer' of the process, while the Goal is affected by the process. Material processes have the most subcategories of process types. In my analysis I follow Simpson's (1993) distinction of animacy of participants, which yields subcategories of **Action** and **Event** Material processes. Material processes which have an animate actor called an Action process, while those which have an inanimate actor associated with the process are referred to as Event processes. The animate actors in Action Material processes can also be distinguished by intentionality or transitivity of the verb. Action processes with only one participant (lacking

a Goal) are intransitive verbs and are termed **non-directed** Material processes. Action processes with an Actor acting on a Goal are realized by transitive verbs and are labeled **directed** Material processes.

**Figure 3.2**
**Material process distinctions**




*Verbalization processes*

**Verbalization** processes are those of saying, and have an obligatory **Sayer** participant role associated with them. The Sayer, a typically conscious transmitter of message, may be realized with an optional **Target**, to whom that which is said is directed. Optional **Verbiage** is the explicit realization of the verbalized message.

| Sayer | Process | Target | Verbiage |
|---|---|---|---|
| *ex.* my aunt | said | to me | no go |

*Mental processes*

**Mental** processes have to do with 'sensing' or states of mind and, as internalized processes, are inherently different from the externalized processes above. Semantically, they deal with mental reactions instead of Material actions. Mental processes also differ in their participant characterizations. Unlike Material and Verbalization processes, which can be realized by only one participant, Mental clauses must have two participants. The **Senser** is of necessity a conscious being, able of being attributed mental functions, while the active, obligatory participant (Actor) in Material clauses may be any animate nominal. Thus the choice of a Mental process is more restrictive in terms of possible associated Active participants. However, the choice of the second participant – the **Phenomenon** that is mentally experienced – is greater in range than a Goal. While Goals must be objects capable of being acted upon, Phenomena may be anything which is thought, felt, or perceived (Eggins 1994: 243).

| Sensor | Process | Phenomenon |
|---|---|---|
| *ex.* they | are worried | about the people |

*Relational processes*

Relational processes express 'being', signaling a relationship between two participants in which neither directly affects the other. The basic relationships expressed by Relational processes are intensive, possessive, and circumstantial. Two participant roles are obligatorily associated with Relational processes, the **Carrier** and the

**Attribute**. Three types of Relational processes can be distinguished by the relationships they express: Intensive, Possessive, and Circumstantial. Intensive Relationals express an "X is a ___" relationship of qualities. Possessive Relationals express a relationship of "X has a ____" which may include ownership of objects, 'possessive' expressions of relations to animate beings ('I have a brother' or 'I have a cat'). Circumstantial relations express relations of "X is at/ on ___", including locations, time, etc.

Intensive (X is a )

| Carrier | Process | Attribute |
|---|---|---|
| *ex.* she | was | a Xhosa |

Possessive (X has a )

| Carrier | Process | Attribute |
|---|---|---|
| *ex.* Even I | still have | some |

Circumstantial (X is/at/on/a )

| Carrier | Process | Attribute |
|---|---|---|
| *ex.* It | was | the 22 of August |

Transitivity analysis involves determining the process types, participants, and circumstances that are realized in clauses (Halliday 1985: 101). Through transitivity analysis, speaker patterns of encoding experience can be discerned and examined. Transitivity patterns are grammatical realizations of context choices. Speakers select from process and participant options to express their meaning and, in so doing, actively choose how they represent their experience (Eggins and Slade 1997: 270). Who gets talked about, doing what, when, where, how, or why are central features speakers use in constructing social reality, and these aspects of reality are decoded through transitivity analysis.

In this research, I use transitivity analysis in conjunction with generic analysis to investigate the story-texts of each interview. As will be outlined in the following section on generic methodology, story-texts are particularly productive sites of social reality construction. After considering the discourse conventions of each text, I use transitivity analysis to aid in locating story texts by isolating different structural patterns. I then use transitivity analysis on each story-text to decode aspects of social reality constructed through chosen process and participant roles. By carefully coding each clause for process type, participant roles, and associated circumstances, I am able to follow the narrators' traces of reality left in the patterns of their transitivity choices.

### 3.2.3. Genre analysis

#### 3.2.3.1. Defining genre

Genre is a type of situation and its verbal realization, taken together. Genre links texts to the situation they take place in, and to the broader social context (Eggins and Slade 1997: 270). It is an element in orders of discourse, associated with a social activity within an institution. Genres also occur *within* speech events or social activities. Story types are the generically-structured text within the LH genre that I refer to in this final aspect of data analysis

methodology. In this section I give examples from my data to illustrate story types, as well as the stage structures associated with each. I introduce relevant issues in generic analysis work that my data calls into question. In the next section, I outline the methodological steps I use to isolate and describe story types within my interview texts using generic and transitivity analysis.

Genre, or structured 'chunks' of text, can be distinguished from 'chat' text based on three defining characteristics: it is cohesive; it is coherent; and it has characteristic internal structure (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 31). Generic structure is a cohesive device that allows a text to be recognized as a unit (Eggins and Martin 1995: 235). We perceive that a text is complete or incomplete depending on whether the expected elements occur, and on whether they occur in the specific order that we anticipate (Halliday and Hasan 1985: 61). Stages of a text are recognizable to listeners because language patterns correspond to stages. Each stage has distinct semantic and lexico-grammatical characteristics (Hasan 1985 and Martin 1993). Finally, a text is coherent when it occurs in a situation or context with elements that we recognize as associated with the text type (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 31). The type of cohesive, coherent structured 'chunks' of text of interest in this research are story types.



**3.2.3.2. Typology of story genre**

'Story' refers to a typology of texts distinguished by distinctive features and purposes (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 231). The story types described in this methodology include Narrative, Anecdote, Recount, Exemplum, Observation, and Reminiscence texts. Labov is credited with defining the structure of "personal narrative of experience" and his work is drawn upon in all other genre work cited in this research. In research on genre structure in conversation, Plum established the structural and functional properties of the Anecdote and Exemplum story types (Plum 1988). Martin and Rothery began using the term Recount to refer to story-texts that construct events in an unproblematic manner after Plum established the structural properties of that story type as well (Martin 1992, Rothery 1990, Plum 1988). In addition to these four traditionally accepted story types, Observations are classified by Plum (1988) and Rothery and Stenglin (1997) as a non-sequential story type. Though I have found no academic work done on the structural features of Reminiscence texts, Horvath and Eggins (1995) mention such texts and I find a distinctive type of text in my interviews which I term Reminiscence texts. I position Reminiscence as the sixth story type of my generic methodology and offer preliminary structural and functional definitions for it.

Drawing on the work cited above, I have found that previous academic work on conversational story types does not fully explain my interview texts. This may be because the narrators in my research were not speaking in their home language, or were perhaps drawing on non-Western speech styles, or exhibited other speech community differences from those of the Anglophone Western contexts of the cited academic work. I cannot say for sure. I limit myself to discussing the issues methodologically. Story requirements of sequential progression of clauses are not met by some of the story-texts in my interviews, yet the texts are clearly structured, cohesive, coherent, and purposeful. I discuss

issues of sequentiality in my descriptions of story-texts below. The discussion is especially relevant to Exemplum, Observation, and Reminiscence texts.

In stories, it is the middle stages that are distinctive and account for difference between the functions of the genre types (Plum 1988: 225). The middle stages consist of an event-focused middle stage (though Narratives have two of these stages) and an evaluation-focused middle stage (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240). The middle stages are particularly important to my analysis because it is in the Event Middle and Evaluation Middle stages that experiential meaning is constructed. It is also here in which the social purpose of the text is encoded.

Beginning stages – Abstract and Orientation – and the concluding stage – Coda – can be present in any story genre but are optional in most. In the examples of stories below, I describe these three optional stages of stories under the Narrative type, and present only the distinctive features of the remaining five story genres to avoid repetition. I also describe how the differing social purposes of the story types construct social reality in different ways. These differing functions are important to the analysis of the interview texts because a speaker's choice of story type and manner of constructing the story's stages encode specific information about the way the speaker sees his world.

## Narrative

Narratives are typified by their concentration on a crisis and resolution. "These stories project a world in which the protagonists face experiences which are regarded as problematic in some way and which they must resolve"(Eggins and Slade 1997: 236). Narrative is about overcoming problems and restoring or maintaining stability. The evaluative frame of reference of Narratives focuses on a larger cultural context and is a valuable site for investigating values and norms (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240).

Within certain discourses, Narrative is the most highly valued of the story types. Narrative is "a powerful genre for inducting members of the culture into valued ways of behaving, specifically facing up to problems, no matter how difficult or personally threatening, and attempting to overcome them, so that stability is restored..." (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240). Rothery and Stenglin establish that Narratives are more ideologically privileged than other genres and receive more emphasis in social institutions like schools because they focus on maintaining order and value individual actions, two extremely important aspects of Western ideology (240). It is important to acknowledge the ideological significance of Narratives when looking at story-texts so as not to accord unintentional favor to one type of story over all others. Each story type fulfills a social function, and does important work in structuring the speaker's perception of reality in equally valid and illuminating ways.

Narrative structure[15]
(Abstract)
(Orientation)
Complicating Action
Evaluation
Resolution
(Coda)

**Text 3.1[16]**
**Narrative (4): Sipho's 'trouble story'[17]**

| | |
|---|---|
| I: Do you remember any time when you got in trouble? | |
| S: With her? (.) Mmm. | |
| I: {laughs} | |
| S: Like in the school (.) the schools are it was (.) very far. (.) So sometimes we decided that (.) we didn't want to go to school. (.) (if we) were | orientation |
| hiding there (.) in the river. (.) And then one day. and then we hide from work. (.) And then one day af/ and then we would eat our our/ r/ our sandwiches (.) during the day and then we have to come back pretending that we are coming from school. (.) And then the principal came (.) when we were go/ when goin/ we didn't come back one day and then the principal came (.) when we arrived at home (.) the principal was there. (.) Ooh. It was drama (.) and {chuckles} | action<br>evaluation |
| and they gave us: a punishment they beat us with (.) with shamboks. (.) with shamboks. Even I still have some. | resolution<br>pre-coda |
| I: Hah! ((surprise)) | |
| S: Some cuts. (.) They beat us with shamboks and then (.) (they) didn't bunk again (2syll?) Twas the biggest punishment ever. (.) {exhales} | resolution<br>coda |

*Abstract*

The purpose of the Abstract is to establish the point of the upcoming story, giving listeners a summary of the story but not a proper telling of it. In all story texts, Abstracts form part of the optional structure. In conversation, Abstracts can be requests for an extended turn. In interview texts, Abstracts may often be found in the question asked by the interviewer.

*Orientation*

Orientation clauses introduce participants into the story, orienting listeners to the setting, characters, circumstances, or other important details of the story. In the extract, the Orientation stage is three clauses, functioning to orient the listener to a new entity – the schools -, which the upcoming story is primarily concerned with, and the circumstance that the children sometimes bunked school.

*Complicating Action*

The Complicating Action stage is an essential part of a Narrative and the first event-focused middle stage element. Events must be recounted in sequential clauses, defined as two clauses "separated by a temporal juncture if a

[15] ( ) Parentheses indicate an optional stage. Stages do not necessarily occur in a strict sequential order. Orientation and Evaluation are especially likely to be intermixed throughout the text. This applies to all story types.
[16] Please do not reproduce this text without permission.
[17] The parenthetical number refers to the story's sequence in Sipho's interview (i.e. this is the 4th story-text he produced).

reversal of their order results in a change in the listener's interpretation of the order of the events described" (Labov 1972: 399). Non-sequential clauses cannot be part of the Complicating Action stage. General events with no temporal ordering or constraints may have occurred an infinite number of times and do not refer the audience to a specific event (Labov 1972: 361).

*Evaluation*

Evaluation gives justification for the telling of the story, highlights a point of view, or explains explicitly why the speaker feels the story is reportable. Evaluation clauses are distributed throughout the Narrative to emphasize some events over others, and need not occur in a single stage (Labov 1997: 403). The purpose of a personal experience narrative is to convey the most reportable event. The evaluation clauses that build up the structure around the key event all serve the same purpose of conveying this event (and the circumstances, emotions, etc. surrounding the event) (Labov 1997: 404-5). In the extract the clause *"Ooh. it was drama."* suspends the Complicating Action just before the Resolution (the most tellable event) is given. Paralinguistic indicators may also fill an evaluative function as in this case. The speaker's chuckle indicates that he finds the incident humorous, and invites the listener to laugh as well. The humor also justifies the telling of the story, giving it an entertaining reason for being told.

*Resolution*

The Resolution stage resolves the crisis by returning disorder back to order in some way. Resolution is the final segment of the middle stage of a Narrative. This stage both completes the Narrative's function of relaying sequential experience and fulfills the ideological role of the Narrative to righting the disorder or overcoming the obstacle (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 239-240). In the extract, the Resolution is a punishment for bad behavior, correcting the disorder of bunking that disrupted the normal process of children going to school.

*Coda*

The Coda brings the text structurally to a conclusion and signals the end of the story. Coda may involve time bridging, as Narrative events are "sealed off and pushed away' (Labov 1972: 365-6). In the extract, the superlative comparison *"Twas the biggest punishment ever"* signals the end of the Narrative by implying that this was the most relevant story the speaker could have told and that it is now finished.

## Recount

Recounts are retellings of events that are related to one another in sequence and move the story to an end point, but they need not deal with a crisis or problem. Instead, when Recounts are chosen, speakers construct events as occurring in an expected sequence and construct personal experience in an unproblematic way (Martin 1992: 568). The point is to convey the speaker's opinion of events (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237).

Recounts need not be of predictable or banal sequences of events (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 238). The events themselves may have negative or emotive meanings, but in framing them through the Recount type, speakers do not

construct these meanings as conflictual or needing to be reset to order. The same experience might be alternatively constructed in another story type, with other transitivity patterns, but the social purpose of the text would change. It is the social purpose, not the topic, which determines the generic construction employed (Rothery and Stenglin 1997:239).

Recount Structure
(Abstract)
Orientation
Record of Events
(Coda)

**Text 3.2**
**Recount (6): David 'treatment of HIV+ friend'**

| | |
|---|---|
| I: [Um.] {laughs} you can say whatever you want. (.) No but I'm wondering how did this/ did Benny? Is that his name? | |
| D: Yes. | |
| I: How did he feel. How did he react when he heard about? | orientation |
| D: He was worried shame. He was worried and he said. And he also took me there to go to the doctor. (.) He said I must go there. Because I was/ that doctor don't take people from-from [(2 syll)] Guguletu (.) [(1 syll)] or Langa. They only took people from Khayalitsha only. | record of events<br>evaluation |
| I: Ohh. | action |
| D: Yes. (.) But I said/ uh/he say/ he phoned (.) the-the doctor in (2syll?) tell them David is coming there and this and this and this. So I | |
| I: So then you could go. | |
| D: Yes. That's why I was going there. (.) And they took there (.) But they always got a problem they said (.) if I'm/ I'm not/ I'm staying here on this side they won't come (.) to me maybe to check me. you know. (.) {coughs} because I'm not staying in Khayalitsha. (.) but I was also going to the clinic of Guguletu. (.) And I was sleeping/ I was/ they took me to hospital (.) St Luc's Hospital. (..) Mmm. I was sleeping there for: two weeks. (..) | eval. action<br>evaluation<br><br><br><br>action |

*Orientation*

Unlike other story types, Orientation is an obligatory stage in a Recount (Eggins and Slade 1997: 268). In the Orientation of a Recount, its function includes introducing characters and settings and setting up a context to frame the events to follow (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 233). In the extract, David describes his friend's reaction when David discloses his status to him. This serves as Orientation to the subsequent recount of events.

*Record of Events-Evaluation*

The Record of Events that distinguishes a Recount from other story types features linguistic patterns of successive temporal conjunctures that move the event clearly from a starting point to an ending point. This Event Middle stage takes the listener through a step-by-step progression of events, integrating evaluation throughout without suspending the progression of action (Eggins and Slade 1997: 259). Evaluation in Recounts is not confined to a discrete stage and is realized through the Record of Events (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237). It is here where the speaker constructs his/her experience as expected and normal.

## Anecdote

Anecdotes, like Narratives, contain a crisis of some kind but the crisis is reacted to rather than resolved (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237). Anecdotal crises need no resolution, as the function of the story type is not to return disruption to normality but to express reaction to remarkable events. Speakers using Anecdote structure focus on their emotions. Consequently, Anecdotes tend to contain Mental processes rather than Material processes.

Anecdote Structure
(Abstract)
(Orientation)
Remarkable Event
Reaction
(Coda)

**Text 3.3**[18]
**Anecdote (16): Sipho's 'HIV reaction'**

| | |
|---|---|
| S: Yeah so (.) it was for few (.) for a few months. And then I told myself no this (isn't what I) want. (.) And (I leave). 2000. (.) Then I came back to Cape Town. (.) I (met myself) in Cape Town. (.) No. (.) I Joburg ah (.)I found out that I was positive. (.) | orientation<br><br>remarkable event |
| I: Really? [In Joburg?] | |
| S: [In Joburg.] Ah and I told myself that no. (.) I can't do this. I have to come back to Cape Town. I have do/ to Cape Town. I was shocked. (.) No I/ I **know** it. And then I came to Triangle Project. (.) And then Glenn did a test. (.) And he told me that I was positive. That was where that I learned I was (very) positive (1 syll?). (.)I was **shocked** (2 syll?). I almost collapsed. (.) And then I went to Funeka's place. (.) Stayed there. (.)I became sick as soon as possible. | reaction<br><br>remarkable event<br><br>reaction |

*Remarkable Event*

The Remarkable Event stage is made up of temporally ordered actions. The Event Middle stage may form a relatively short segment of the text, as the events are central to the text function only in setting up the circumstances to which the speaker reacts. In the extract, the Remarkable Event stage takes place twice, both minimally elaborated. *"I found out that I was positive."*... *"And then I came to Triangle Project. (.) And then Glenn did a test. (.) And he told me that I was positive*". It is his reaction to the event of finding out his positive status and not an elaborate sequence of events that is the focus of his story.

*Reaction*

In Anecdotes, the resolution to a crisis is not important but rather the reaction is primary. The Reaction stage establishes significance of the story. It may also express heavy interpersonal meaning, building solidarity with listeners by conveying emotions that all have felt at some point (Jordens et al 2001). In the extract, Sipho's reaction is emphasized as the point of the story by repetition and emphatic stress.

[18] Please do not reproduce this text without permission.

## Exemplum

Exempla contain explicit messages about the way the world ought to be (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237). In using Exempla, speakers give meaning to an event by assigning cultural significance. The speaker frames reactions to an event as moral judgments rather than a personal response (Eggins & Slade 1997: 257). Exempla couch reactions in more global terms than Anecdotes do, appealing to the moral or social code of a group, but have a narrower frame of reference than Narratives, which focus on values that society in general tends to value (Jordens et. al 2001).

The exempla in my interviews call into question Labov's and other researchers' emphasis on incident-specific sequentiality in Event Middle stages. Unlike Narratives and Recounts, whose purpose lies in conveying event-focused experience, the social purpose of other story types is more emotionally and cognitively focused. Anecdotes convey reactions and Observations share personal opinions (Rothery and Stenglin 1997, Eggins and Slade 1997). Exempla too focus on judgments or evaluations of events (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 234). The events themselves are a frame for conveying judgments or conveying a culturally-specific point. Jordens et. al. (2001) in their work on illness narratives suggest that Exempla, like Observations, need not necessarily record a progression of singly-occurring events but instead nominate or invoke an incident for comment.

In my data I found that Exempla may be constructed using minimal temporal succession of events and still convey their social purpose of offering judgment or making a culturally-specific point. Events may be invoked or elaborated by focusing on their habitual occurrence, rather than their successive and implicitly causal progression. David's text especially offers evidence of Exempla texts as I have defined them. Others can be found in section 4.3.4. or in Appendix.



Exemplum Structure
(Abstract)
(Orientation)
Incident
Interpretation
(Coda)

**Text 3.4**
**Exemplum (10): David's 'HIV in the community'**

| | |
|---|---|
| I: Sounds like you're very eager to do that. (.) That's a good idea. | |
| D: Mmm. It's a good idea really. because (..) there are maybe the others like this guy I told you. He's Sipho. His name is Sipho. (..) | abstract orientation |
| I: Yeah [Robert was. yeah ] | |
| D: [He stays] he stays with his uh. (Although) maybe with his aunt or what so (…) {coughs} He's just getting worse and worse because (.) sometimes they chase him away there. (.) Do you know? Like (.) if I am staying here and my aunt said to me no go. I don't want to see you here. Because you are HIV-positive. (.) People are/ are/ are like that. (.) You know that? (.) Most specially in the/in the/in the township. (..) In our community. (..) If you are HIV-positive they don't want to (spo?)/ they don't want to/ they are not even touching your (.) your **cup**. (.) Because you are HIV-positive. (.) Which is wrong. | incident<br>interpretation<br>interpretation |

*Incident*

The Incident stage is the Event Middle stage of an Exemplum and outlines events in order to elucidate interpretative comments or moral judgments (Eggins and Slade 1997: 260). The Incident stage in the extract is minimally elaborated and consists of drawing a brief sketch of the treatment of a friend.

*Interpretation*

The Interpretation stage provides a moral interpretation or judgment of the events in the Incident stage (Eggins and Slade 1997: 260). The Interpretation stage forms the Evaluation Middle stage of the story type. In the extract the final judgment is very explicit "*Which is wrong*", referring to the specific treatment of his friend by his friend's family and, more broadly, to the way members in the community treat HIV+ people.

## Observation

Observations begin with an Orientation, followed by the observation or description of events, and then the comments elaborating upon the observation. Labov's emphasis on sequentiality and non-repeating actions again is problematized by my data. Some genre theorists have followed Labov in maintaining that temporal ordering is a crucial feature of 'stories' (Eggins and Slade 1997) while others allow that non-temporally defined Observations can be classified as a story type (Plum 1988, Rothery and Stenglin 1997). They maintain that the basic structure of stories applies also to Observations, which have middle story stages with dual referential and evaluative functions (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 235, 240). When analyzing Observation structure and typical transitivity realizations, I found that Observation texts in my interview data do indeed have the same basic structure as other story types. Observations consist of an experientially-focused Event Description stage, similar to Complicating Action, Incident, etc. stages of other story types, and an evaluative Comment stage, similar to Evaluation, Reaction, etc. stages. (See Table 3.2 for story stages). In my methodology, I follow Plum and Rothery & Stenglin in including non-sequential Observations as a story type.

Observations deal with particular events and specific participants involved in them, as do all story types (Rothery and Stenglin 1995: 235). Events are not developed as part of a chain but are invoked via description. Disruption and crisis are not foregrounded even when events are out of the ordinary. Rothery and Stenglin (1995) state that events in Observations are constructed as "locally" significant, in contrast to the broader cultural significance attached to story types like Narratives (241).

Observation Structure:
(Orientation)
Observation
Comment
(Coda)

**Text 3.5**[19]

**Observation (23): Sipho's 'gay community'**

| | |
|---|---|
| S: I can't. (.) It's difficult. (.) It's difficult. (.) And to:: (.) To be positive in the gay community. (.) It's something like you've been (.) you've been beh/ your behavior has been **bad** and. (.) | orientation |
| I: Really? | |
| S: Yah it's just they say that Ooh. That one. (.) It's horrible. (.) It's horrible. (.) | event description |
| I: Do people say that to you? (.) | |
| S: Yeah because there's some say that (.) he deserved it. Because (.) he thought he was (.) s::/ he was something. (.) He was gold. Because he used to go to Joburg Durban. (.)But now look at him. (.) Yah it's dif/ it's difficult because they don't (want to accept/) we don't (.) support each other. (They said) No some people said that I deserve it. (.) They said I deserve it. (.)I said that No (.) **maybe** I deserve it maybe I don't. I don't know. | comment<br>coda |

*Observation/Event description*

The Event description of an Observation is often a description of events, or an invoked "snapshot frozen in time" (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 235). Event descriptions serve as a platform on which to rest the speakers' observation (Jordens et. al. 2001). The Event description is similar to other Event Middle stages in its focus on events but is distinguished from other middle stages of stories by its lack of temporal relations (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 233). In the extract, Sipho describes briefly how members of the gay community treat people who are HIV-positive.

*Comment*

The Comment stage of Observations and similar Evaluative middle stages in other story types, and gives significance to the Event Middle stage. The Comment stage attaches local significance to the events, conveying that events are important for their own sake (Rothery and Stenglin 1995: 242). In the extract, the comment *"we don't (.) support each other"* explicitly states the significance of the Event description.

## Reminiscence

By defining story type by structure and noting that Labov's strict sequentiality definition refers primarily to Narratives, I was able to isolate another (potential) story type. I have termed certain texts Reminiscences, a text type referred by Horvath and Eggins (1995) but not structurally defined in linguistic literature on story types. Like all story types described in this section, Reminiscences have a clear structure and purpose. They characterize memories of a person or event and offer an opinion or evaluation. Reminiscences focus on description and are not necessarily temporally-specific. Like Exempla they present a snapshot of an event or series of events that occurred often.

Though I do not focus on these texts in my analysis, I cannot overlook them simply due to lack of academic study. To do so would leave a portion of my data unaccounted for. Sipho uses Reminiscence structure to convey his memories twice. I offer a provisional structural description as found in my interview data. (See also Table 3.2 in section 3.3).

[19] Please do not reproduce this text without permission.

Reminiscence Structure
(Abstract)
(Orientation)
Action Description-Attribute Description
(Coda)

**Text 3.6[20]**
**Reminiscence (3): Sipho's 'my great grandmother'**

| | |
|---|---|
| I: Do you have early memories of her? (.) At her house in the Transkei? | |
| S: (.) Yeah. (.) [It was a] house like (..) built with mud. (.) And then on top it's the grass that (.) she used uh (.) she used like there was no w/like (.) there is no taps. (.) You know? taps for water. (.) There is what do you call this thing? (.) She has/ she had to go all the way to the river. and then they with a big bucket of and then fetch water there. (.) She was very strict. (.) She was very strict. She used to wake up early in the morning and make fire with water and then (.) put a pot and then pour some water and then she'd wash us and then we'd go to school. (.) She has to cook porridge and then she had to make some sandwiches so that we can eat something at school and then (.) when we come from school (.) you know that you've got food. That's she's got food and then she'll (cook for us). (.) She was (.) she was everything (then?). (.) And then some days she had to take us to church and (.) she used to wear some (.) what is these things? Some Xhosa (.) Xhosa? | orientation<br>describe responsibilities/duties<br><br>action-description<br>description- attribute<br>action examples<br><br><br><br><br>attribute<br>action |
| I: A dress? | |
| S: Some Xhosa clothes. (.) | |
| I: Clothes. | |
| S: Xhosa clothes. (.) And the/ she was a Xhosa. (.) She was/ she was almost the eldest woman in the township. Most people always comes to her. (.) You know she used to (..) to help some pregnant women to get (to give birth ?). Because hospitals are very far. (.) Are very far. (.) She was respected in the community she was. (.) We were poor but we didn't feel that thing that we were poor because (..) she has too (.) uhm (.) she was receiving a grant and then (.) she was: in the (.) in the garden there were a lot of mealies (.) (and carrots). Cabbages. (.) We were/ Everyday we were having something to eat and (.) It was (.) It was fine it was fine living with her. (.) It was fine living with her. (.) | attribute<br>eval<br>orientation<br>outstanding characteristic<br>eval-attribute<br>action example<br>action example |



*Action Description-Attribute Description*

The distinctive middle stage of Reminiscence texts in my interview data consist of intermixed Action Description and Attribute Description. A series of events, thematically related but not temporally successive, is structured alongside attributive statements which characterize the person or event being described. Action descriptions fulfill the middle referential function of Event Middle stages. They also support the Attribute Descriptions, which fulfill the evaluative function of Evaluative Middle stages. The extract text is a reminiscence of "the good life" of his childhood and focused on his great grandmother, offering examples and evaluations of her character alongside one another. Her multiple tasks and responsibilities support the statement *"She was (.) she was everything (then)"* just as the descriptions of her skill as a midwife and status as a township elder supports the evaluation *"She was respected*

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*in the community."* The two middle stages work together to fulfill the function of Reminiscences to characterize and evaluate a memory or an event of person.

### 3.2.3.3. Non-story text

Narrative, Recount, Anecdote, Exemplum, Observation, and Reminiscence form the typology of story texts that I investigate in terms of generic and transitivity structure and function. Below, I also describe Opinion texts and give an example of an Opinion text from my interview data. I do not include Opinion texts as part of my text analysis methodology and do not analyze their internal structures or functions as I do with other texts. Opinion texts do not focus on specific events nor do they assign meaning to events, and thus are not included in my story-focused text analysis. However, Opinion texts do serve a crucial purpose in one text and are particularly relevant to the order of discourse analysis of 4.2.2. For this reason I include a description of the form and function of Opinion texts.

**Opinion**

Opinion texts propose, elaborate, defend, and exchange opinions and are "expressions of attitude, not fact" (Eggins and Slade 1997: 266). These texts are more highly interactive and interpersonally-focused than story texts. Their use foregrounds interpersonal meanings (Eggins and Slade 1997: 270). Opinions play a prominent role in casual conversation. Eggins and Slade (1997) analyzed three hours of casual conversation in three workplaces and found that Opinion texts occurred in 16.8% of non-chat talk (265).[21]

They express judgment of an individual or societal state of affairs (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 31). They are non-sequential texts that introduce the topic by stating rather than describing it. Horvath and Eggins (1995) establish Opinion texts as a genre and define Opinion texts within the context of casual conversation, stating that a "minimal text of this type will consist of ... a reaction to the [stated] opinion by a second speaker" (32). In LH interviews, this definition is too narrow and is unlikely to be met because of subject roles as expectations (i.e. interviewer minimal participation – see 4.2.1.). However, texts that function as opinion texts, expressing attitudes and giving evidence for claims, exist within the LH genre. Accordingly, I use an altered definition of Opinion texts by excluding the requisite second speaker reaction.

Instead, in a largely monologic situation where reaction by other speakers is discouraged by discourse conventions, the Evidence stage of an Opinion text becomes necessary. Whereas in casual conversation an opinion that is offered and accepted need not be elaborated upon, in monologic genres of speech, Evidence must be provided to support the Opinion. In my texts, the Evidence stage was present in each text but the Reaction stage was often absent. Therefore, I use a different assumed structure for Opinion texts in the LH genre, making the Reaction stage optional but the Evidence stage required.

[21] Story types (defined as Narrative, Anecdote, Recount, and Exemplum in their study) accounted for 43.3% of non-chat conversation. An Observation/Comment category, not defined as a story type, occurred in 19.5% of non-chat conversation, while Gossip and Joke-telling comprised the remaining 20.1% of the considered text.

Opinion structure

Opinion
(Reaction)
Evidence
(Resolution)

**Text 3.7[22]**
**Opinion- Sipho**

| | |
|---|---|
| S: MMMm. (.) But still it's (.) it's difficult if you're a gay person. (.) Because sometimes you are just (.) being (.) forced into do those things. (.) Sometimes you say that's fine (some other time) you don't want to do this but you just (.) can't. | opinion<br>evidence |
| I: Don't want to do what? (.) What were you not (allowed) to do? | request for example/reaction |
| S: (.) Like (.) um (.) playing with sticks fighting with sticks. (.) You know? (.) For a gay person that's (.) it's weird. (.) It's just weird because (laughs) I don't know. (.) It's weird and also cruel. Also (2 syll?) some/ some people beat and (.) you know. (.) But FOR ME. As a gay person I saw that as cruel. | evidence<br><br>opinion restated |

*Opinion*

Opinions are very often statements of attitude, realized by Relational processes of "attribution" (e.g. great, nice) rather than "experiential" (e.g. round, tall) (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 32). Opinions may apply to people, situations, the state of affairs in the world, etc. They may be coded as originating from the speaker as his/her personal beliefs, or as being held by society at large. In the extract, the opinion statement "*it's difficult if you're a gay person*" opens the text and elicits a Reaction-like response.

*Reaction*

This "genre defining" stage does not necessarily occur in LH interviews. In casual conversation, it is another speaker's reaction to the opinion offered. The interaction following the reaction will depend on the degree of agreement of the other speaker's response. Categorical agreement requires no further elaboration, while further stages are required if there is any other degree of agreement (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 33). In the context of a counter opinion, Evidence and Resolution become obligatory (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 36). In the context of LH interviews, where no counter opinion is possible, Evidence is also obligatory. [23] In the extract above, the 'request for example' "*What were you not (allowed) to do?*" may serve the same function as the reaction stage by inviting elaboration.

*Evidence*

Evidence is typically given through elaboration – exemplification or definition – or through casual enhancement (e.g. 'because'). Evidence clauses are statements that support the relational process opinion (Horvath and Eggins 1995: 33). In the extract, Evidence is given both through a 'because' clause ("*Because sometimes you are just (.)*

[22] Please do not reproduce this text without permission.

*being (.) forced into do those things. (.)"*) and through examples of things that made the speaker uncomfortable. *"Like (.) um (.) playing with sticks fighting with sticks. ... some/ some people beat."*

### 3.3. Analysis procedure

In outlining methodology for defining a new genre, Eggins and Slade (1997) present steps for undertaking generic structure analysis. I have adapted these slightly as methodology for this research to locate and describe story texts in my interviews in terms of genre and transitivity structure.

*1) 'Chunk' versus 'chat'*

The first step in generic analysis is to recognize a 'chunk', distinctive in length of turn and internal (rather than interpersonal) structure. It is important that these features co-occur, especially in recognizing story types in LH interviews where long turns are typical rather than unusual (unlike more dialogic casual conversation). As memories unfold, some long turns will not be structured as stories but may take the form of lists, descriptions, etc. In my analysis I use Step 1 to determine what proportion of each interview text is structured by story types.

*2) Social purpose label*

The second step is to determine the social purpose of the text and label it accordingly. In a functional model of language, different genres or types of text have different social functions. 'Story' texts have varying purposes that center around events and attitudes or reactions. Table 3.1 shows the general purpose of six story types that occur in my interviews and how they construct experience. In Step 2 in the Analysis I identify story-texts in the interview texts.



**Table 3.1**
**Story type purpose and construction of experience**

| Narrative | Anecdote | Exemplum | Recount | Observation | Reminiscence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Convey experience in temporal sequence in which they occur (Labov & Waletzky 1967: 13) | Convey reactions (Eggins & Slade 1997: 237) Share reaction with audience (Jordens et. al. 2001) | Prescribe behavior, make a point (Eggins & Slade 1997: 237) Share moral judgment (Jordens et. al. 2001) | Convey opinion of events (Eggins & Slade 1997: 237 ) Recount personal experience in an unproblematic way (Jordens et. al. 2001) | Share personal response to thing/event, focus is NOT event (Jordens et. al. 2001) | Convey evaluations through characterizations of event/ person |
| Construct experience as out of ordinary, **required** restoration of order (Martin 1992: 568) | Construct experience as out of ordinary, no required re-ordering (Martin 1992: 568) | Construct experience as out of ordinary, no required re-ordering (Martin 1992: 568) | Construct experience as **expected** (Martin 1992: 568) | Construct experience as out of ordinary, no required re-ordering (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 241 | |

*3) Stage identification*

The third step is to identify stages within the story types. Stages structure the text as it progresses to its endpoint. These can be labeled according to their function, describing what each stage is doing, and how it helps to achieve the overall purpose of the story. In story types, which begin and end with similar stages, the middle stages are where

[23] Resolution is non-obligatory in LH because it is unlikely that the interviewer will disagree or challenge the narrator's opinion after giving the narrator space to tell his/her life story.

distinctive purposes are located. Table 3.2 below shows the typical stages of six story types that occur in the interviews. I combine Step 3 and 4 in my analysis to arrive at typical process choices made to structure each stage.

**Table 3.2**
**Stages and function of story type**

| Narrative | Anecdote | Exemplum | Recount | Observation | Reminiscence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *(Abstract)* establishes the pt of text and signals that story is about to be told<br>*(Orientation)* orients listeners in terms of people, places, time, and action | *(Abstract)*<br>*(Orientation)* | *(Abstract)*<br>*(Orientation)* | *(Abstract)*<br>*Orientation* | *(Orientation)* | *(Abstract?)*<br>*(Orientation)* |
| ***Complicating Action*** temporally orders actions leading to a crisis<br>***Evaluation*** evaluates or presents appraisal of crisis<br>***Resolution*** actions resolve crisis | ***Remarkable Event*** temporally orders actions outlining a remarkable event to which narrator shares reaction<br>***Reaction*** evaluation establishes emotional significance | ***Incident*** outlines temporally sequenced events in order to elucidate interpretative comments or moral judgments<br>***Interpretation*** moral judgment or cultural interpretation of event is relayed | ***Record of events*** provides a sequence of events with ongoing appraisal/ evaluation | ***Event Description*** description of events, non-temporal snapshots<br>***Comment*** gives significance to the story | ***Action Description*** description of events that occurred often<br>***Attribute Description*** statements and evaluations that characterize memories |
| *Coda* make pt about text as a whole; returns text to present | *(Coda)* | *(Coda)* | *(Coda)* | *(Coda)* | *(Coda)* |

*Optional stages are in (parentheses).Obligatory stages are underlined. Middle stages are in **bold italics**. Identical functions across story types are described in the Narrative column.*

*4) Stage features*

The fourth step is to describe features that differentiate each stage using transitivity analysis. After identifying what the purpose is and what the structure of the story type is, transitivity analysis shows how the structure realizes its social purpose. Different story types are structured through different transitivity choices, reflecting different text purposes. The way that transitivity choices configure to carry out the function of the genre is an essential aspect to understanding text. In the extract below, I illustrate how I use Steps 3 and 4 in my analysis. Transitivity analysis and generic analysis are closely integrated in these steps. Types of process often cluster in a stage. A shift in process type often also indicates progression to a new stage. Transitivity analysis is helpful in isolating stages and also in understanding how each stage, through its process and participant choices, carries out the social purpose of the text.

**Text 3.8**[24]
**Sipho: "childhood trouble"**
**Narrative (4)**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I: Do you remember any time when you got in trouble? | |
| | S: With her? (.) Mmm. | |
| | I: {laughs} | |
| car, R, | C: Like in the school (.) the schools are- it was (.) | orientation |
| attr; sens, M; act, | very far. (.) So sometimes we decided that (.) we didn't | |
| Man, cir; act, Man, cir; | want to go to school. (.) (if we) were hiding there (.) in the | action |
| act, Man, cir; | river. (.) And then one day. and then we hide from work. (.) | |
| act, Mad, | And then one day af% and then we would eat our our% r% | |
| goal; act, Man; | our sandwiches (.) during the day and then we have to come | |
| act, Man, cir; | back pretending that we are coming from school. (.) And | |
| act, Man; | then the principal came (.) when we were go% when goin% | |
| act, Man, cir; act, Man; | we didn't come back one day and then the principal came | |
| act, Man, cir; car, R, attr; | (.) when we arrived at home (.) the principal was there. (.) | |
| car, R, attr; act, Mad, ben, | Ooh. It was drama (.) and {chuckles} and they gave us: a | evaluation |
| goal; act, Mad, goal; | punishment they beat us with (.) with shamboks. (.) with | resolution |
| car, R, attr; | shamboks. Even I still have some. | (pre-coda) |
| | I: Hah! (surprise) | |
| act, Mad, goal; | C: Some cuts. (.) They beat us with shamboks and | resolution |
| act, Man; car, R, attr; | then (.) (they) didn't bunk again (2syll?) Twas the biggest | coda |
| | punishment ever. (.) {exhales} | |

"Childhood trouble" is prompted by a question mimicking Labov's interview tactic of asking respondents to relive through story highly emotive events such as danger or imminent death. Perhaps, then, it is unsurprising that the question elicits a typical Labovian Narrative structure. Though their typical order is reversed, Orientation and Abstract occur in the first two clauses. The Orientation can be identified by the participant it introduces – "*the schools*" – and the circumstantial Relational process that functions to describe location. These are details that the listener needs to know to comprehend the story, as the school is a key participant and its distance from the narrator's home is his main explanation for the events to come.

The Abstract uses a Mental process of "*decision*", multiple unnamed participants (presumably schoolchildren), and an adverbial circumstance "*sometimes*" to establish that the bunking decision was taken more than once. The Abstract signals that one of these times will be the subject of the chain of events.

An unbroken section of Material action clauses follow, forming the Complicating Action stage. Temporally ordered actions led up to the crisis of the principal appearing, who is introduced three times at the climax of the story. A move to Relational processes corresponds to the evaluation stage, which functions to suspend action and heighten suspense just prior to the resolution to the disorder. The ominous figure of the principal also hangs suspended from action, while the narrator evaluates the action that is to come and assigns importance: "*Ooh. It was drama.*" The Resolution is a pair of action-directed Material clauses, carried out by undefined plural authority figures acting on a

[24] Please do not reproduce this text without permission.

goal (the children). In this Resolution, the order that the transgressive children have disrupted by bunking school is restored.

The Coda returns to a Relational process, iconically finishing the progression of action. The participant of the Coda is the narrator, who for the first time is represented by first person pronouns instead of being included in a plural "*we*". This focuses the audience's attention back on the speaker and returns the text to the present by commenting on the present situation that directly resulted from events in the story: "*Even I still have some [cuts].*"

I call this a pre-Coda because, though the narrator effectively finished the story, my reaction opens the story back up to be restated and refinished. In the second Coda, the narrator chooses a superlative, almost stereotyped, clause to definitively signal the end of the story he wanted to tell: *"Twas the biggest punishment ever."*

As the text moves through the familiar stages of Narrative, the narrator draws on transitivity structure to accomplish each stage's aim. To take the story forward in Complicating Action stage, it is useful to choose Material processes, though it is not the only choice available. To introduce participants and circumstances, Relational processes are an efficient, but not mandatory, choice. In Step 5, I look at how these choices of the transitivity not only further the purpose of the story text and stages but how they are choices that encode the speaker's reality as well.

*5) Transitivity analysis of speaker reality*

In the fifth and last procedural stage, I shift attention to speaker reality rather than story-text definition and descriptions and apply transitivity analysis to each clause contributing to story-texts in the interview. The previous step relates to how transitivity patterns coincide with stages to fulfill the function of the story type. In the final step, I look at how each clause's transitivity structure is chosen to represent the speaker's reality. Using processes and participant selection, I interpret the meaning encoded by the speaker. Step 5 contributes a large portion of the analysis in this thesis and thus is the subject of 4.3.



### 3.4. Conclusions

As readers of academic work, we may perhaps feel so accustomed to interview structure that we assume certain similarities to be naturally found in all interview texts. It may thus appear to be a waste of space to analyze and report on features of texts that we assume will be the same. However, it is precisely because we make such assumptions that texts should be analyzed in full, starting from genre structure. It is much easier to say, perhaps, when finding unexpected features in a text, that they are simply misunderstandings, results of an inadequate interviewer, confused/noncompliant/rebellious or marginally fluent narrators, or other ad-hoc explanations. However to do so is to leave unacknowledged that we began reading with expectations and leaves unexamined those parts of the text where these expectations are located.

Such unexamined assumptions also set up the participants in the speech event as delinquent or deficient in some way because they have not met our ideals and expectations. This disempowers narrators and gives a (passively exercised) power to the audience – the power of ideology, of adequacy judgments, of assumptions and expectations. To allow audiences to exercise such control over the texts that narrators produced on a subject they know intimately – their own lives – is contrary to the aims of my research. The methodologies I used both to gather and to analyze the texts enable me to place narrators squarely in control of the LH speech event and of the texts they produce, and allow me to critically analyze expectations, assumptions, and conventions to arrive at a clearer understanding of the texts.

LH is structured to empower the speaker within a borrowed but modified format of interview/storytelling. Systemic functionalism – and the related approaches of CDA and generic analysis – sees text as the actual production of text producers who draw creatively on conventions through negotiation. It rejects the idea that text or language may be disregarded as inadequate or dysfluent because of failure to meet constructed ideals. Producers are in control of text production, aided by conventions but not obligated to strictly adhere to them. In this research, audiences such as thesis readers are disprivileged of their right of judgment based on unexamined expectations, and are empowered to critically analyze actual text produced within a real context by actual agentive producers.

Viewing text from within the range of options available to the speaker in his or her context is the theme of my research. The methodology I have chosen is consistent with this. Language choices are in part determined by the genre of the speech event, imposing certain structures and leaving other structures open for negotiation between participants. Analysis of orders of discourse elucidates the conventions available to my interviewed narrators as well as those they chose to draw upon (typical versus actual). Types of talk that occur *within* a genre are partially constrained by the LH genre, and also exist as a set of options from which participants may draw. Generic analysis gives insight into what kinds of talk can occur in LH, and what it means when they do. Choices of process and participants are constrained by the story-text structure they occur in. Transitivity analysis reveals how speaker's choices shape the kind of story he tells and shape the nature of the social reality he represents.

# Chapter Four
# Analysis

### 4.1. Participant Characterizations

I outline in Chapter 3 the process through which the LH interviews were collected from the two participants. In this introductory section to the analysis of those interview texts, I describe each participant briefly in terms of information he gave during the interview. In my analysis, I do not attempt to ascribe social reality difference in the texts to particular differences in life experiences. Though correlations surely could be explored, the extremely small "sample size" would severely compromise any such claims. Instead, I describe details of their lives to make them more real and concrete to readers who may otherwise experience their texts as distant and decontextualized.

The participants' life experiences are varied is a multitude of ways, as one would expect when listening to the life stories of any two individuals. While both were raised by much-missed maternal close female relatives (grandmother and great-grandmother), David grew up in a Cape Town township and lives still in the neighborhood of his youth, while Sipho grew up in a rural area and only came to Cape Town after completing his matriculation examination.

Major topic areas, such as disclosing sexuality or HIV status, were experienced quite differently by participants. David reported having no problems disclosing either his sexuality or HIV status to family members and friends, while Sipho was involuntarily outed by unknown community members, both regarding his sexuality and HIV status. The two participants had quite different opinions regarding their friendship networks and the gay community in general. David reported that friends had been extremely supportive and considerate of his HIV status, needs, and life changes arising from sickness, while Sipho reported shocking mistreatment from former friends, and condemnation and a lack of support from the gay community in general. However, Sipho was in a supportive relationship that began after he found out he was HIV-positive, and David had not had a boyfriend since finding out he was positive.

In regards to the physical effects of HIV, the two participants were suffering from different opportunistic infections associated with HIV infection at the time of interview. Sipho was multiply diagnosed with cancers and other painful disorders while David was reaching the end of a typical respiratory infection drug regime for tuberculosis. Sipho had known his positive status for about two years at the time of our interview. David had known his positive status for about six months. Their positive-result test was not the first HIV test for either.

With these very different life experiences and different stages of compromised health, it is perhaps surprising to find any similarities in their life stories at all. The categories on which I searched for participants are assumed to be non-essentialist: HIV is an infection of the general population in South Africa; 'black' and 'gay' were a configuration of self-identified characteristics chosen to add formerly unrecorded life stories to the body of knowledge. However, it must be assumed that there were other similarities between the participants that allowed both of them to learn of my

study and contact me to participate. Among these might be level of *'outness'*. Each must have had participated in a gay community organization or had the acquaintance at least one other gay person through which to hear of my study. Each also had a good *knowledge of English*, so as to be able to respond to my questions – though Sipho's level of English, and education level, was higher than David's. Finally, they may have had similarities in *perceived security* in speaking with a white foreign woman, and willingness to speak with an outsider.

### 4.2. Orders of discourse
### 4.2.1. Conventions of LH genre

The discourse conventions associated with the genre of life history interviews incorporate familiar elements from other oral social practices like interviews and casual conversation, and present new elements and new configurations. I draw on genre and practical technique work in oral history by Portelli (1998a & b), Yow (1994), and Thompson (1988) to establish typical conventions in the social activity of a life history interview. I then compare this sketch of typicality to the structure and conventions actually used in my texts by narrators.

Life history interviews are, for most narrators, a novel experience and a novel genre of speech (Portelli 1998b: 24). Building on experience with other speech genres and taking cues (implied or explicit) from the interviewer, the narrator must of necessity negotiate within a new genre. Stories of life experiences may be told and retold to family and intimates and may enter into a life history, but they have formerly been told in fragmentary form in diverse functions and situations. By contrast, in life history, the stories and oral representations of experience are told on request, to an outsider or vague acquaintance who expresses interest in the everyday experiences and emotions of the narrator. The speech is mostly monologic, and the focus of the interview is on the narrator (Portelli 1998b: 24).

Aspects of production, distribution, and consumption can be quite complex and may play different roles in the narrators' contributions. Interviews may be intended for publication, destined to be repackaged in academic or other discourses. Interviews then enter an intertextual chain to be consumed by audiences who were clearly envisioned by the interviewer from the onset, but who may have been only vaguely understood by the narrator, if considered at all. Other texts are produced for oral-aural archives only, and will be primarily heard from the audiotape or digital recording on which the life history interview was preserved. This allows more direct access to the text for the audience, cutting out the intertextual packaging of the researcher and avoiding misrepresentations of the social activity.

The subject roles associated with the activity type include participants in the immediate production of the text as well as in the more distant consumption of the text, though all are acknowledged in the production (e.g. interviewer must state how s/he intends to use the interview before the interview is initiated). Knowledge of audiences to come may serve to exercise social power over the interviewer to conform to the conventions of the genre. Invisible but presumed audiences may also give importance to the narrator as s/he is producing text. The role of the unseen

audience as listeners, even in generations to come, may function to empower narrators that their stories are important enough to be heard and preserved (Yow 1994: 119). Their presence and function set the LH genre apart from casual conversation and even most interviews.

The primary subject positions are occupied by the interviewer, an information/story seeker, and the narrator, the information/story giver. Oral history texts are created as the result of a relationship, though they are less interactive than other forms of conversation. The researcher initiates the interview by contacting the narrator. His/her role is to accept and encourage what the narrator wants to speak about, to value and show interest in what is said, and to place what is said in the broad context and aims of the life history interview and to value it accordingly (Yow 1994: 120). The speaker is encouraged to speak and is given the largest quantities of speaking space s/he will use, while the interviewer supports the speaker through continuing interest and keeps the conversation from stalling by occasional questions (Thompson 1988: 209).

While one of the aims of oral life history interviews is to correct the asymmetrical power dynamics of most interview situations by ceding control of goals, structure, topic, and flow of the interview largely to the narrator, the interviewer retains control over initiating and closing the conversation. The interviewer also controls the genre choice by invoking conventions of the life history genre. By stepping to the side of the conversation and allowing the narrator free range of speaking space, the interviewer still retains the power to push the narrator into that space of extended floor-holding. This may be an unfamiliar space that the narrator resists. In this space of mediated power, important negotiations of conventions can take place.

The sequential structure associated with a life history interview is characterized, ideally, by short questions or statements of support or encouragement by the interviewer and long, monologic text by the narrator. However, the actual sequential structure may differ. The interviewer makes introductory remarks, orienting the narrator to his/her role to produce text about her/himself and his/her life, and sets the agenda by asking chronological or thematic questions. The narrator, in response to each question, has the choice between giving a short or long response, and between giving a generically-structured (such as a story) and an interpersonally-structured text. In response to the narrator's choice, the interviewer may give an encouraging, minimal response (usually to a long response, especially if recognizable as a story), to probe for details with a limited-scope question (functioning as an encouragement to add on to the response given), or a new, open-ended question to suggest a new topic. This middle structure, managed by both participants, is recursive in nature and may continue until interruption, until the narrator becomes tired or disinterested, or until the conversation comes to a natural close. The interviewer has the prerogative to close the conversation and is usually the one to exit the activity (Portelli 1998b: 28-30).

In my research I found that the middle, recursive, cooperatively-managed segment of the sequential structure is most likely to be the site of negotiation and of convention interdiscursivity. While a respondent's answers to a sociological questionnaire or official interrogation by authorities do not affect the next question, life history is

dialogic and questions arise from answers given to preserve a flow of memory and conversation (Portelli 1998b:30). This gives the narrators significant power over the activity. Though the interviewer establishes the genre and introduces the purpose of the interview, both participants come to the interview with agendas and both exercise power. Portelli notes that this may surface both in the content and in structure and may entail negotiation during the course of the interview (1998b: 29). I offer that, because power dynamics are overtly considered in the LH, participants may easily negotiate discourse conventions in LH interviews.

Further, I offer that negotiation within activity type conventions is an implicit feature of life history interviews, owing both to their novel shape and aims. The unestablished power dynamic between participants is a stable feature of life history interviews that enables negotiation of content and structure to occur. Indeed, an aim of LH is to empower narrators by giving them space to develop their stories without interruption. Negotiation is a much less likely feature of interviews, owing both to their known form as a speech genre and to the established power dynamics between associated participant roles in that genre. Although 'novelty' is an unstable feature, as narrators or communities may become highly sought-after because of particular experiences and thus become accustomed to telling their life stories, negotiation between participants as a feature of LH is relatively stable because of the requisite attention to mediating power dynamics. As a result, negotiation in the activity type can always occur, and interdiscurstivity in subject positions and sequential structure as a result of this negotiation is a defining feature of LH interview genre.

The style of LH interviews is a simpler matter than its activity type. Using style elements of casual conversation, the tenor of the participant relationship is familiar and informal. The mode is spoken conversational. The rhetorical mode may fluctuate between 'entertaining' and 'informative'. Rhetorical mode may be the versatile of the style elements, as the rhetorical mode is affected by both the interviewer's and the narrator's purposes. When considerable negotiation takes place in the activity type, it is likely that the rhetorical mode will also be affected.

Discourses that surface in LH interviews may vary, but are more constrained than in casual conversation, which may occur between participants assumed to have equal power. LH participant roles are filled by an information seeker and an information giver, who may be negotiating power and roles. However, as the topic includes all experiences one may have had in life, the discourse range could be vast.



### 4.2.2. Analysis of conventions in interview texts

Orders of discourse are a range of options in conventions from which participants in a particular genre may choose. My interview texts are amalgamations of the choices that I have just described as part of the LH orders of discourse. In the following section I describe how each narrator made use of the range of choices available to them. For ease of description, I highlight first the conventions that both texts draw upon and then describe differences between them. A summary of the conventions in each text is found in Table 4.2.

Unsurprisingly, discourses common to both texts have to do with gender, sexuality, and AIDS. These topics were implicitly or explicitly identified as interesting to me, introduced as relevant in my initial comments in the interview and encouraged by my questions. Because this research is primarily concerned with transitivity and genre structure, I do not analyze each contributing discourse for its significance in experiential (or ideological) meaning but instead highlight those that the two texts have in common in Table 4.1. These include 'seeing gender/sexuality', 'gender roles in childhood', 'community strictures', AIDS as death-knoll', 'sexuality confusion', and 'coming out'. Three discourses that are invoked by both participants appear in texts that I analyze in detail in 4.3.4: 'gender in childhood', 'HIV disclosure', 'gay confusion'. Some discourses help to structure stories, which I indicate in the Table by giving the number and type of story text, while others are merely mentioned, which I indicate by only giving the clause numbers in which the reference occurred.

**Table 4.1**
**Discourses in the texts**

| Gloss of discourse | Example from David's text[25] | Example from Sipho's text |
|---|---|---|
| 'seeing' gender/sexuality | 1. Recount (clauses 34-37) | clauses 288-297 |
| Gender roles in childhood | 17. exemplum (clauses 687-709)<br>18. exemplum (clauses 712-739) | 7. anecdote (clauses 211-231) |
| Community strictures | 10. exemplum (clauses 508-525)<br>(opinion clauses 525-549) | 9. exemplum (clauses 272-287)<br>23. observation (clauses 737-762) |
| AIDS as death knoll (immediate response) | clauses 281- 295 | 17. recount (clauses 520-525) |
| sexuality confusion | 1. recount (clauses 20-33) | 10. recount (clauses 298-335) |
| coming out | 16. recount (clauses 671-687)<br>clauses 123-125<br>clauses 143-158 | 14. narrative (clauses 409-437) |

The texts also show similarities in aspects of style. The spoken mode and a conversational and familiar tone between the narrator and me characterize both texts. The rhetorical mode or purpose of the texts, however, differ and are related to the remaining differences in convention choices by narrators. Sipho utilizes a rhetorical mode of telling stories and sharing emotions through entertaining or information-giving. His overall purpose or motivation for agreeing to the interview was not clear. He seemed to have agreed to the interview simply because of a persuasive friend, and could think of nothing that I could do for him when asked at the end of the interview. The rhetorical mode of his text was typical of the LH genre, according to the literature reviewed above.

The purpose of David's text, however, was broader than those typically associated with the LH genre. He viewed the interview as an opportunity to enlist help to mobilize gay and lesbian people around the issue of HIV/AIDS by organizing a group. This purpose shows up most explicitly in the rhetorical mode, which can be characterized as informative (about the general situation of HIV+ gay men in the townships) and opinion – and advice-giving (about how to resolve the problems). His purpose is not furthered by personal stories that frame problems as confronting an individual, but by texts that show problems as applying to many. Using genre and transitivity analysis, I examine how his text is structured by his purpose.

David's purpose pervaded most conventions used to structure his text. Conventions of genre, the most autonomous element (Fairclough 1992: 125), are controlled by narrators rather than interviewers, as part of the empowerment aspect ascribed to the narrator subject role. Specifically, distribution and consumption processes are influenced by narrator purposes. David envisioned a wide audience, corresponding with his broad purpose for the interview, and embraced the opportunity to have his interview consumed or reproduced for other audiences. He agreed to archive his interview with GALA and the transcript also appears in full in Appendix. Sipho, on the other hand, viewed the interviews as an intimate encounter without wide distribution. He asked that I only use the interview for this research project and declined to have it stored in the GALA archive. To comply with his wishes I have included his text as sparingly as possible and tried to represent his interview in the least intrusive manner possible.

It is in the conventions associated with activity type that the differing purposes that narrators' differing purposes show the most influence. As noted in the discussion of LH genre conventions, the activity type elements are inherently open to negotiation primarily because of the methodological aim of negotiating rather than pre-defining power roles. As a consequence, subject positions and sequential structure are very open to negotiation between narrator and interviewer.

Sipho influences subject positions by restricting options. By requesting that his interview be used only for this thesis project, he exercised control over the construction of subject positions, negating a role for archive listeners, for instance. He also controlled distribution by discouraging intertextual chains deriving from his text beyond the present text, limiting consumption in the same manner. Readers of this thesis are asked to respect Sipho's request and to kindly refrain from reproducing any of his texts without written permission.[26]

The subject position he constructed for himself was both influenced by expectations I introduced to the interview through genre conventions and by his purpose of informing and entertaining. Sipho took easily to telling stories, often featuring emotional points in his life, and held the floor for long periods as he structured stories. He filled the space offered to him in the genre and made it intimate and personal, relaying events and emotions in his construction of meaning and reality. The sequential structure he chose for his text draws on storytelling (or interview) conventions, and less so those of casual conversation, as he responds to questions with long, often dramatic, structured texts that positions me clearly as the listener and sole audience. The interview follows a pattern of alternating minimal responses or questions (from the interviewer)and long responses (from the narrator) until the very end of the interview. The disruption of this pattern signaled to me that the interview had come to a narrator-decided end. Structurally, his text draws on more LH conventions and, accordingly, can be more easily recognized as a LH interview than David's.

[25] Please see Appendix for discourses in context.
[26] Permission may be facilitated in exceptional circumstances by contacting the author at: jerowe2002@yahoo.com

David's negotiation of conventions within the activity type follows from his purpose for the interview. The subject position he fills during the first half of the interview (clauses 1-353) fulfills the expectations I as the interviewer impose. He produces some structured text about himself, focusing on his 'coming out as gay' story and his 'disclosing his status' story in a long interconnected near-monologue. My main contributions in the first segment are clarification questions to correct misunderstandings due to differences in our English and to my confusion over chronology.

After the extended segment on the intervention aspect of the project (clauses 372-390), which he ends by asking *"What else must I say?"*, the activity structure begins to be re-negotiated. I offer a comment instead of a question in response to his remark about trying to keep busy (after clause 487). David responds by re-orienting the activity type to casual conversation, offering non-story, opinion-focused texts that focused on other people instead of himself (clauses 508-613). He succeeds in drawing on casual conversation conventions for several minutes, emphasizing general problems rather than his own and proposing solutions to problems he cites. His casual conversation style effectively reposition me as well. Cued by the highly dialogic opinion sections (as described by Horvath and Eggins 1995), I respond to the interpersonally focused structure of casual conversation. The best example of this is found following clause 487, my longest segment of personal contribution in either interview. Following on a long section of opinion and advice texts, I re-assign myself a subject role closer to the casual conversation genre whose conventions David draws on.

**Table 4.2**
**Discursive conventions of LH and narrator texts**

| Typical Life History conventions | Sipho's text | David's text |
|---|---|---|
| **genre**:<br>production: interviewer-narrator<br>distribution: oral to aural to written<br>consumption: aural audience, readers of thesis and derivative texts | **genre**:<br>production: interviewer-narrator<br>distribution: oral to thesis<br>consumption: thesis readers | **genre**:<br>production: interviewer-narrator<br>distribution: *oral to thesis* to academic citations/activist lit/ other<br>*oral to aural*- free access to be reproduced by other researchers<br>consumption: aural audience, readers of thesis and derivative texts |
| **activity type**:<br>subject positions:<br>*interviewer-information/story seeker<br>*narrator- information/story giver<br>*audiences- consumers: simultaneous functions of policing and empowering<br><br>sequential structure:<br>I: intro/purpose/roles/question<br>[N: short response/ structured response<br>I: probe/ new question]**<br>I: close | **activity type**:<br>subject positions:<br>*interviewer-information/story seeker, listener<br>*narrator- information/story giver<br>*audiences- thesis readers only<br><br>sequential structure:<br>I: intro/purpose/roles/question<br>[N: short response/ structured response<br>I: probe/ new question]**<br>I: close | **activity type**:<br>subject positions:<br>*interviewer-<br>1)information/story seeker, listener<br>2) casual convo participant<br>*narrator-<br>1) information/story giver (of self)<br>2) opinion-giver<br>*audiences- archive listeners, readers<br><br>sequential structure:<br>I: intro/purpose/roles/question<br>1) [N: short response/ structured response<br>I: probe/ new question]**<br>2) [N: opinion/advice/unstructured comments<br>I: opinion questions/comments]**<br>I: close |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| **Style:**<br>tenor: familiar, informal<br>mode: spoken conversational<br>rhetorical mode: entertaining-informative-etc. | **Style:**<br>tenor: familiar, informal<br>mode: spoken conversational<br>rhetorical mode: entertaining-informative (about self) | **Style:**<br>tenor: familiar, informal<br>mode: spoken conversational<br>rhetorical mode: informative (of generalities), opinion- and advice-giving |
| Discourses: many possible | Discourses: see Table 4.1 | Discourses: see Table 4.1 |

**recursive stage

Expectations I bring with me when I introduce the LH interview are challenged by David's negotiations. The function of his text is not local and personal, as I anticipate, but global and general. In an effort to enlist my aid, he constructs a reality of HIV as it may apply to many, sketched against a background of community problems. To do this he draws on interpersonal resources like opinions and focuses on other peoples' stories as well as his own. This is especially true after I repeat my introductory intentions to intervene productively wherever I can (clauses 372-390). These conventions shifts marks a change in the text, so much so that David's text effectively becomes two texts: the first drawing on typical LH conventions and the second more closely resembling casual conversation.

I expect local meanings and local stories that focus on the narrator, structured around temporally-ordered events, and encounter coherence and sense-making problems when met with his global construction of meaning instead. His text is functionally structured around circumstances and the state of affairs that apply to many. In these global meaning segments, David reassigns the purpose of the interview from my purpose to elicit stories to his purpose of eliciting aid. This is a powerful act of narrator agency, of discursive reassignment. So powerful was it that I left the interview feeling that I had failed, having been unable to elicit specific events or to keep the interview focused on the narrator. When seen from a discursive level, however, and textually-examined, it is clear that that is not at all the case. The interview remained focused on the narrator, as he reinvented the structure to convey his goal-driven meanings. It is true that the interview is not event-focused, but that is because that structure did not suit the narrator's purpose. He thematically constructed incidents that collectively furthered the function of his text: to present a problem (series of problems), offer a solution, and enlist my help. The consistence with which smaller texts are structured to his global function is striking. The influence his purpose had on his text is examined in further detail in 4.3.

*Conclusion*

The critical foregrounding of power relations in the LH genre affects discursive conventions of the genre. The conception of modulated power in LH genre forms pockets for negotiation. David negotiated a shift in discourse conventions within the activity type, repositioning subject roles and restructuring sequence so profoundly that his text is nearly cleft in two sections. Other negotiable pockets also exist in LH interviews. Sipho took advantage of negotiable conventions by restricting audiences and controlling the distribution and consumption chains that arose from his text.

Each narrator exercised control over his text structure through macrostructure resources to which both had access. Different macro conventions affect the texts in micro structural ways as well. Sipho limited consumption and

distribution chains, restricted audiences, and produced intimate stories of emotional reactions that are examined in 4.3. David furthered his purpose of enlisting organizational help by choosing atypical activity type conventions and by casting his text in general, interpersonally-focused terms. Using procedural steps 1-5 below, I look more closely at the individual social reality constructions of the two narrators.

## 4.3. Text analysis

### 4.3.1. 'Chunk' vs. 'chat'

The first step of my transitivity and generic analysis procedure is to distinguish the relevant 'chunk' segments of text. In this case, 'chunk' segments are identified as story-texts, while 'chat' segments include all non-story text. Identifying segments of 'chunk' speech allows me to characterize the texts in two ways. First, by isolating clauses that are structured into story-texts, I find that 64% of Sipho's text is structured by stories (562 of 874 clauses) while only 42% of David's text is structured through story (327 of 776 clauses). Sipho's text is considerably more structured by stories.

Secondly, the interviews differ in generic complexity. While both interview texts range topically over the narrators' lives, Sipho uses more varied genres to construct his life experience. Jordens et. al. (2001) show that, in illness narratives, a more complex illness experience will likely correlate to more complex genre use. If this research is applicable to life stories, it may also be the case that a more complex genre usage may indicate a more complex life. Sipho reports more conflict and difficult times in his interview than does David, using all six story types while David uses only three types (see Table 4.3).

However, when only looking at story texts with HIV as the topic, David and Sipho use only two story types each (Sipho uses four Anecdotes and one Recount, David uses one Recount and two Exempla). While Sipho's text displays more generic complexity throughout the interview,[27] both participants discuss HIV with the same level of generic complexity. In these texts, Jordens et. al.'s findings concerning correlations between complexity of experience and story types seem to reveal little about the lives or experiences of narrators.

Instead, I offer these two observations primarily to characterize the texts rather than to draw conclusions from them. Sipho's text contains a larger percentage of story-texts and draws on greater story type diversity to convey his experiences. In Steps 2-5, which story types are chosen and how they are constructed proves more informative than how many occur in the texts.

[27] Other difference between narrators outside of "illness complexity" may account for this difference. As mentioned, Sipho has a higher level of education and may have become proficient at many story types in this way. He may also simply be a more skilled storyteller according to Western/ English-language standards.

### 4.3.2. Social purposes

In Step 2, I identify the social purpose of each 'chunk' or story-text in the interviews. In addition to the general aim of story types (e.g. Anecdotes convey emotions), I interpret the specific purpose of each story-text, answering an audience role question: *What is this story-text about?* This approach links the theme of the story with the general purpose of the story type.

**Table 4.3**
**Story-texts by type (and Opinion-focused clauses)**

| | Sipho | | David | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| narrative | 1 | birth story | 3 | helping a friend |
| | 4 | childhood trouble | | |
| | 5 | childhood lesson | | |
| | 12 | coming out as gay | | |
| | 13 | meeting lover | | |
| Anecdote | 2 | close to ggrandma | ----- | |
| | 6 | childhood responsibilities- gender | | |
| | 14 | HIV reaction | | |
| | 16 | HIV reaction | | |
| | 17 | HIV reaction | | |
| | 18 | HIV reaction | | |
| | | | | |
| recount | 9 | sexuality confusion | 1 | sexuality confusion |
| | 15 | HIV reaction | 2 | helping a friend |
| | 10 | coming out to self | 5 | treatment of HIV+ friend |
| | | | 6 | confronting boyfriend |
| | | | 8 | coming out as gay |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| Exemplum | 8 | masculinity and adulthood | 4 | HIV testing/speaking out |
| | | | 7 | HIV in the community |
| | | | 9 | gay/gender in childhood |
| | | | 10 | gay/gender in childhood |
| observation | 7 | violence-treatment in Transkei | -- | |
| | 19 | gay community | | |
| Reminiscence | 3 | great grandma | -- | |
| | 11 | self | | |
| | | | | |
| | | | | |
| *Opinion clauses* | | *355-365*<br>*714-724* | | *250-280*<br>*525-549*<br>*555-650* |

Table 4.3 shows the frequency of each narrator's choice of structure by story type. Though both narrators draw on a range of story types, each has preferences for certain genres, as is shown by the clustering of numbers in certain rows. Sipho chooses Narrative and Anecdote structure significantly more than other story types. He uses Recount structure thee times, Reminiscence and Observation structure twice each, and rarely chooses Exemplum structure. David prefers Recount and Exemplum structure significantly more than other types. He chooses Narrative structure once but never forms his experience via an Anecdote, Reminiscence, or Observation.

In the analysis that follows I discuss the information that is encoded in these choices of story type. Even this relatively simple sketch of story type classifications and frequencies reveals a great deal about how narrators construct their lives through the social purpose of the story structure they choose. This demonstrates the usefulness of using generic analysis when analyzing texts in which people report on their lives. It also shows the wealth of information that result from applying even one part of this context-based methodology.

A basic distinction between Narrative and Recounts, indeed between all story genres and Recounts, lies in the construction of reality. Narratives position participants to deal with crises and restore normality while Recounts construct the entire event within a frame of an expected progression of events. Recounts are the only story type in which the events are presented as flowing towards an anticipated endpoint.

In choosing Recount structure, David chooses to frame aspects of his life experience as traveling along an expected path. Along this path there may be disruptions, but these too are expected and are not constructed as problematic or conflictual (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 239). Thematically, as seen in Table 4.3, an unproblematic progression of events conveys experiences of 'gay confusion', 'helping a friend', 'getting HIV treatment', 'confronting boyfriend' and 'coming out to his parents as gay'. These aspects of his experience might easily have been constructed as conflictual events needing resolutions. (See Bagley and Treblay 2000 and Rotheram-Borus and Fernandez 1995 for stress, trauma, and depression risks of coming out to oneself and to parents). In choosing Recounts, he constructs his experience as normal, typical, and unproblematic.

Sipho, in choosing Narrative structure, selects a corresponding social purpose of presenting problematic events but also resolving them. In Narratives, participants face up to problems and attempt to overcome them or to restore order in some way. Problems are resolved and participants may emerge triumphant (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240). Sipho constructs a few aspects of his life in the Narrative form: 'birth story', 'childhood trouble', 'childhood lesson', 'coming out as gay', and 'meeting a lover'. The important comparative comment is that while David often structures his experience as ordinary Recounts and rarely as problem-focused Narratives, Sipho makes the opposite choices and favors representing his experiences as problems requiring a resolution or as obstacles which he overcame.

Not all David's experiences are constructed as expected. He also frequently employs Exemplum structure, which constructs an experience as out of the ordinary, but does not require re-ordering as do Narratives (Martin 1992: 568). While Narratives project more global values (e.g. maintaining order, privileging individual action) that apply across many fields of knowledge and culture, Exempla deal with more local fields of culture that experience disruption. Events in Exempla are assigned local significance (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 243). David's Exempla texts focus on local values and attitudes surrounding HIV and homosexuality. In each Exemplum text, he presents events within specific frames and uses those frames to interpret significance and to assign meaning. For instance, in his HIV-focused Exempla, he judges community expectations and assumptions as wrong.

David's Exempla play a significant role in furthering his overall purpose of the interview. As detailed in section 4.2.2, his aim to secure help to start an organization is visible in discourse conventions that he used to structure his interview. His purpose also influenced his choice of story types. Exempla function to relate his experiences to the community he lives in and to judge the norms that shaped his life and the lives of others. Recounts and Exempla need not focus on the narrator as the Actor or experiencer of events, as Narratives do, and function to foreground opinions and evaluations of events rather than events themselves (Rothery and Stenglin 1995: 234). David uses Exempla to comment on the way the (his) world ought to be and often to serve as an entrance into opinion-focused texts in which he presents solutions for initiating the needed change.

Returning to Sipho's choice of story types, he also frequently chooses Anecdote structure. Like Narratives, Anecdotes contain a crisis of some kind but the crisis is reacted to rather than resolved (Eggins and Slade 1997: 237). Emotions are a key element in Anecdotes. Narrators choosing Anecdote incorporate and value reactions as part of their life experiences (Jordens et. al. 2001). Sipho chooses Anecdote structure more than any other story type (six texts) and in so doing foregrounds his emotional reactions to themes of 'childhood responsibilities (gender)', 'gay confusion', and especially HIV. Almost every segment of his text concerning HIV in his life is an Anecdote, excepting one Recount. Clearly, conveying reactions to being HIV-positive constitutes a significant part of his construction of and interaction with HIV.

Also like Narratives, Anecdotes construct experience as out of the ordinary. So too do Exempla and Observations. With Recounts comprising only 3 out of 19 of Sipho's story-texts, it is clear that he constructs his reality as being out of the ordinary. He presents his reality as atypical. In later steps, especially Step 5, I look at how this basic understanding of his reality also surfaces in his transitivity choices and other patterns.



### 4.3.3. Stage identification and description

In Step 3 of the methodology I identify the stages of each story-text of the interviews. In Step 4, I summarize the transitivity features of each stage of the 29 story-texts, looking closely at 1) the types of processes that were chosen at each stage and 2) the participants that were chosen to realize the processes. By taking Step 3 and 4 together, I give a basic overview of transitivity structure of story types as realized by Sipho and David.

*Transitivity- Process Choices*

To compare process choice across stages and between interviews, I tabulated the processes chosen to express each stage of a story-text, and compared the processes to those in other texts of the same story type. The process choices that appeared in a majority of texts of the same type were taken as the typical process choice of the stage. For instance, Material clauses realized the Complicating Action stage of Narratives S.1, S.4, S.5, S.12, S.13, and D.3.[28]

[28] The initial refers to the narrator and the number refers to the story's sequential place in the interview text.

Verbalizations were also chosen for the Complicating Action stage in texts S.5, S.12, S.13, and D.3. Due to the frequency with which the process types were chosen, Material and Verbalizations processes are deemed to typify the Complicating Action stage of Narratives in my interviews.

Stages were then compared to one another according to their function. For example, all Orientation stages, which function similarly to orient listeners to upcoming people, places, and circumstances, were compared. "Middle stages" are broken down into a stage of experiential function, which recounts events, and a stage of evaluative/interpersonal function, which gives meaning or attaches significance to the events or story as a whole (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 240). Middle stages of the same function are compared, as are Abstract and Coda stages.

**Table 4.4**
**Typical processes by stage**

| | Narrative | Anecdote | Recount | Exemplum | Observation | Reminiscence |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Abstract | material | | | material | | |
| Orientation | relational | relational | relational<br>mental | material<br>relational | relational | relational |
| | *(CA & Resolution)* | *(Remarkable Event)* | *(Record of Events)* | *(Incident)* | *(Observation)* | *(Action)* |
| Middle-Event | material<br>verbal | material<br>verbal | material<br>verbal | material<br>verbal | material | material |
| | *(Evaluation)* | *(Reaction)* | *(Evaluation)* | *(Interpretation)* | *(Comment)* | *(Attribute)* |
| Middle-Evaluation | relational<br>mental | mental<br>relational | relational | mental | mental | relational |
| coda | relational | | relational | | | |

The results of my investigation into typical transitivity choices for stage realization are presented in Table 4.4. The structural similarities among story types are overwhelming. With a few exceptions, story-texts in my interviews realized Orientation stages with Relational processes, Event Middle stages as Material and verbal processes and Evaluative Middle stages as Relational and Mental processes. Abstract and Coda stages were used less frequently and showed no reliable patterns. There was no narrator difference in process choice in these comparisons.

The greatest variation in process choice is found in the Evaluative Middle stages. Mental processes are the primary process choice to attribute meaning in Anecdotes, Exemplum, and Observations. Relational processes are the processes most responsible for meaning-making in Narratives, Recounts, and Reminiscence. There is some overlap, as both Relational and Mental processes are found in Evaluative stages of Narrative and Anecdote.

The uniformity in transitivity structure across story types supports my decision to include Observation and Reminiscence texts. The six story types I have included in this research are united in a structural definition of 'story texts'. The basic Beginning-Middle-End structure applies to all, as does the Middle stage dual functions of presenting events and assigning meaning to the events and/or text. Finally, three of the stages, including the two obligatory middle stages, are found to be typically realized by the same process types. Namely, Orientation stages

are realized by Relational processes, Event Middle stages as Material (and Verbalization) processes and Evaluative Middle stages as Relational and Mental processes.

*Transitivity- Participant Choices*

I also examined and compared the choices narrators made to fill the participant roles associated with process choices. I concentrated on the Active participant role, as this role is obligatory to express any process. Active participant roles include Actor (Material), Sayer (Verbalization), Sensor (Mental), and Carrier (Relational). Participant roles pattern with process choices, so Actor roles are primarily found in Event Middles, Carrier and Sensor roles in Evaluation stages, etc., as follows from Table 4.4. I was primarily concerned with who filled the Active participant roles rather than how they were distributed. That is, were Active participants primarily the narrator himself or others, and what can that tell us about the text? Active participant role patterns in the text are summarized in Table 4.5.

**Table 4.5**
**Participant choices by story type and stage**

| **narrative** | S.1 | S.4 | S.5 | S.12 | S.13 | D.3 | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Comp. Act | she | we | she/I | they | they | he/I | | |
| Evaluation | she/I | | she | I/They | I | he | | |
| Resolution | she | they | I | I | I | he | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **recount** | S.9 | S.15 | S.10 | D.1 | D.2 | D.5 | D.6 | D.8 |
| EventRecord | I | I | I/he/we | they/I | he/I | he/I | He/I | I |
| Evaluation | I/we | I/you | I | I | I/gran | Doctor | I/he | her |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Anecdote** | S.2 | S.6 | S.14 | S.16 | S.17 | S.18 | | |
| RemarEvent | I/she | I/she | I/he | they | they | they | | |
| Reaction | I | I | I | I | I | I | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Exemplum** | S.8 | D.4 | D.7 | D.9 | D.10 | | | |
| Incident | I | I/friend | he/they | I/they | you/I | | | |
| Interpretation | they | they | they | they | they | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Observation** | S.7 | S.19 | | | | | | |
| Observation | you | they | | | | | | |
| Comment | it | they/others | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| **Reminiscence** | S.3 | S.11 | | | | | | |
| Action | gran | I | | | | | | |
| Attribute | gran | I | | | | | | |

Because narrators preferred different story types, choices of Active participants in story types may largely reflect individual narrator choices in constructions of reality. David constructs four out of the five Exempla in Table 4.5. In the Incident stage, he variously chooses 'I' or 'they/he/you' to fill the Active role, as suits the topic of his story.

Invariably, however, the Interpretation stage in which meaning is constructed contains Active roles with 'they' as the participant. Sipho's one Exemplum text follows the same pattern of realizing the Interpretation stage with a third person plural pronominal participant. This participant pattern logically helps fulfill the role of the Interpretation stage and the overall purpose of the story type to relay a moral judgment. Judgments held by a group, such as moral judgments, are efficiently communicated as coming from a group such as represented by the pronoun *'they'*. In the interviews, and especially in David's, moral judgments in the interpretation stage of Exempla come from other (non narrator) participants.

Anecdotes were chosen only by Sipho and thus it is unclear whether the participant choice patterns reflect the purpose of the stages they occur in, or whether they strategically construct Sipho's reality. As in Exempla, the Event Middle stage may feature the narrator or others in the Active participant role, depending on the topic. The active participant realizing the Reaction stage is consistently the narrator himself. Anecdotes are always chosen to convey the narrator's own reactions to events that may or may not feature him as the Actor. Therefore it follows that the reaction stage will feature the narrator as the Actor. In the Evaluative Middle stage, participant choices reveal that a primary difference between Exempla and Anecdotes lies in whose reaction is presented.

Less consistent patterns occur in Recounts and Narratives. David and Sipho's Recounts may feature first person or non-narrator Active participants in both Middle stages without a clear pattern. David's Narrative is 'other' focused in the Active roles of both stages, while in Sipho's narratives, action is precipitated by others or a group that includes him in four of five texts. He is the Active participant resolving conflict in three of the texts.

Reminiscence and Observation texts were only produced by Sipho, twice each. Both Reminiscence texts focus on one participant throughout all stages with the purpose of characterizing that person. Sipho's Observation texts are realized by 'other' Active participants. This may serve to distance himself from the comments he makes on his communities. In text 'violence in the Transkei' he talks about how gay people are treated in the community of his youth and in 'gay community' he tells how poorly members of the gay community treat gay HIV-positive people. Jordens et. al (2001) suggests that Observations have a face-saving function in illness narratives that allow narrators to make self-reflexive comments couched in terms of generality, fending off the need to commit to conveying specific examples as evidence. Observations may serve a similar function in Sipho's texts.

*Conclusions*

Some aspects of this analysis corroborate analysis in Steps 1 and 2 and further build evidence that will be drawn upon in Step 5. Sipho chooses story types and participant roles that convey his personal reactions and emotions and reveal intimate aspects of his reality. While he structures much of his text in terms of his reactions to events, he also carefully offers observations of experiences like being HIV-positive in the gay community and being gay in the Transkei in terms of generality, barely hinting that discrimination and violence may have affected him personally.

While he also uses Narratives to structure his experience, he is not consistently the righter of disorder. Often, the series of actions is driven by other participants. The blame for disruption to order and the triumph of righting it is shared amongst himself and other people in his life. This is also the case in David's Recounts, which feature him and various others as participants in both precipitating events and in evaluating them.

I have drawn other conclusions on a structural level. Anecdote and Exempla differ from one another in who fills the participant role of their Evaluative Middle stages. Transitivity patterns show that Anecdotes focus on narrator reactions while Exempla focus on others' reactions. It was also found that all story types considered in this research exhibit very similar transitivity patterns of process across similar stages. Slight variation in Evaluation stages distinguished Anecdote, Exemplum, and Observation, from Narrative, Recount, and Reminiscence. Observation and Reminiscence are structurally similar to other, more traditionally accepted, story types and these similarities are taken as evidence to support the inclusion of Observation and Reminiscence texts in the story typology.



### 4.3.3. Transitivity analysis of texts

In step 5 I apply transitivity analysis to six story-texts, selecting three from each narrator. I have chosen six texts with similar topics for ease of comparison. Due to space limitations, I do not present my analysis of each of the texts in each interview (29 total) as evidence of my claims about how each narrator structured his reality. Instead, I have chosen three topics that occur in both texts: 'gender in childhood', 'gay confusion', and 'HIV disclosure'. These texts are not necessarily representative of the types of experiences that narrators report, but I do consider them representative of the way the narrators construct their experiences.

*'Gender in childhood'*
**Text 4.1**
**Sipho: (6) Anecdote**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I: Mm. (.) (here's a ??). Do you/ when you were at (.) home. in the Transkei. do you remember (.) what kind of (.) work. you had to do? (.) Like (.) like with the cattle. | |
| | S: (.) With the cattle? | |
| | I: Or other things. | |
| act, Mad, goal; car, R, attr; | S: We have to milk the cattle. (.) And you have to (.) like (.) the sheep. if the sheep are having some more hair. | orientation |
| | I: uhum. | |
| act, Mad, goal; act, Mad, goal; sens, M, phen; act, Mad, goal; sens, M, phen; act, Mad, goal; act, Mad, ben; Mad, goal; act, Mad, goal; act, Man, cir; Mad, goal; Mad, goal; sens,M, phen; car, R, attr; | S: You have to (.) you have to use some scissors to cut the hair so that (.) they don't get some sticks or other stuff. (.) and we have to (.) we have to know the times like (.) early in the/ we have to milk the cow early in the morning. (.) We have to know that. We have to take some calves. Some baby cows/ calves. And then we have to (.) get them suck. Suck the/ the milk from their mothers'. (.) But we have to seperate they/them. (.) And then but at one o'clock or twelve o'clock. We have to come again and then make the cows (.) suck the milk. (.) Yeah we have to know the (.) those things and (.) but i was not (.) that good to it because (.) I/ my grand/ my/my/ my great gr/my great | *abstract* remarkable event |
| car, R, attr; act, Man, cir; Mad, goal; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; act, Man; act, Mad, goal (?); act, Mad goal?; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; Mad, cir; car, R, attr; Act, Man, cir; sens, M, phen; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; act, Mad, goal; sens, M; act, Mad, goal; act, Mad, goal | grandmother. became sick. (.) So i have to go to the river and then tr/ took what is this thing a bucket of water. I have to be/ i wa/ I was having to be **responsible** (.) for the whole house. (.) And then (.) it was difficult. (.) And then I have to cook. (.) And uh(.) But (.) I managed it. (.) I managed it. (.) | reaction |
| | I: Were you the oldest? (.) Of the children? | |
| | S: (.) Yah. I was the oldest. (.) I was not the oldest as such. (.) Because there was another one who was born in nineteen seventy. seventy-five. (.) He was older than me. But he didn't want to go to the river because he used to (see) that (.) going to the river is the. woman's job. and then cooking is also a woman's job. So (.) I have to take that responsibility because (.) I don't know. I just did it. I just did it. (.) Yeah. | circumstances |

Sipho produces the extract in Text 4.1 in response to my question about childhood responsibilities early on in the interview (clauses 194-231). A long first section of Material clauses form an extended Orientation stage. The Material processes Sipho selects are predominantly action-directed processes with acted-upon goals, such as milking cows, cutting sheep hair, and getting calves to suck. Though such a concentration of Material clauses often corresponds to a Complicating Action stage, this segment is not about progression of action. Instead, it sets up a state of normal affairs, both through the lack of temporal ordering and by using an indistinct "*we*" as the Actor of the processes. These transitivity choices at this stage in the text orient the listener to the normal and expected responsibilities for children.

Against this backdrop of normality, a disruption is introduced. The main participant in this disruption is the narrator, introduced in a first-person pronoun to focus the listener on the narrator and signal that a story is about to be told:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I: Ohh. | |
| sens, M, phen; sens, M, phen; act, Man, cir; | D: {coughs} And uh. Here they know me. (.) They know me. I used to play with dolls. (.) | Interpretation |
| | I: That's nice that you're/ that you're in the same area. | |
| sens, M; car, R, attr; sens, M; | D: yah. Yah they know ever/ they know I am gay here. [But they know | restated Interpretation |
| | I: [Did you know No go on. | |
| sens, M, phen; act, Man, cir; say, V, vbg; sens, M, phen; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; | D: But they used to/ They used to see me because I was always play with lad/ with the/ with the girls always like this and they say yes we saw you that time you were a child. you going to be a gay man. (.) {laughs} | |

David produces Text 4.2 after a question on his childhood playmates and is the last story-text he produces (clauses 712-739 of 776). He describes a situation snapshot of circumstances rather that temporally-specific events and gives it significance within a specific sociocultural frame. For these reasons I classify the text as an Exemplum.

The Abstract introduces the narrator as the main participant and Actor in a Material clause, and introduces story structure: "*Because...I was play all the time with girls.*" The Orientation stage is dominated by Material clauses as well and establishes "*playing with girls*" as a circumstance that was habitual rather than isolated. After a short negotiation to arrive at a translation for the Afrikaans word for "*dolls*", the Incident stage of the Exemplum forms the evidence on which he bases his Interpretation of the story.

To present his evidence, David chooses three different process types. He gives evidence of the games "*you*" play through Material processes, and then uses self-targeted Verbalization processes to relay his mental thoughts and evaluations. "*And then you make houses outside there...But I used to say to myself...*" These take the form of Relational processes, of wanting to be one role instead of another in games like "*house*". He then re-orients the story to the two next-door neighbor girls, and his community in general.

In the Interpretation stage, he introduces a new plural "*they*" as Sensors to the Material process "*know*" and links the Incident of playing with dolls to his interpretation of its importance. I as the listener do not make the appropriate connections, failing to recognize that the new "*they*" pronoun refers to family or community (instead of the girls), failing to ascribe "*playing with dolls*" as an early characteristic of a gay man, and failing to recognize the stress on "*know*" and interpret that stress as anaphoric for the phrase "*know* (that I was gay)". Instead, David is forced to phrase his interpretation more explicitly in a restated interpretation, linking the childhood playmates and games to "*their*" recognition of his sexuality. *"they say. yes we saw you that time you were a child. you going to be a gay man"*

His interpretation occurs quite squarely within the context of gay culture, while I was interpreting his text in a wider frame. He did not play with girls because they were nearby, as I interpreted, but because he was gay. Invoking female playmates or "girl" games is a typical script for constructing oneself as gay from an early age, particularly from an essentialist viewpoint of being "born gay" (Rottnek 1999). David assumed we would share that script and I

would decipher the correct interpretation in the intended frame. When I failed, he made the interpretation more explicit.

*Comparison*

Both texts are located in memories of childhood and both incorporate ideas about gender roles, though they do so in very different ways. Sipho produces Text 4.1 at the end of several memories of childhood; only in this text is gender mentioned. It is not core to the text, as it is not the reason given for his childhood responsibilities but only surfaces as an explanation of why the older boy would not assume the responsibilities. The story occurs to note Sipho's difference, not to explain it. Disorder in the Anecdote is reacted to and is important for emotional reasons.

In David's text, however, gender roles form his Interpretation and reason for telling his story. His alternative childhood gender (marked by playing with girls and dolls) is linked to others' expectations of his adult sexuality. Framing his memory in an Exemplum and invoking a gay script to form the Interpretation, David's text positions that which is disorder in one frame (child transgressing gender role boundaries) as expected within a more local frame that he assumes we will share.

Several features of the interviews in general occur in these two texts. Sipho shows a preference for choosing Anecdotes to convey his experiences, and in so doing gives importance to his emotional responses to events. Contrastive patterns mark him as different from others, and his experiences are reportable because of this. Disorder, related to difference, may be overcome or managed, but it is very often present in his texts.

David's choice of an Exemplum is one of the few story types he uses to structure his personal experiences. Disorder is not primary to his interview. When it is introduced, it is resolved. Here, disorder of gender roles is resolved by framing the 'disorder' as expected for gay men. The Exemplum structure signals that his life is ordinary and normal, if seen from the right perspective, and he gives his texts and life importance through stressing their normality.

*'Gay confusion'*

**Text 4.3**

**David: (1) Recount**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| act, Man,<br>cir; act, Man, cir<br>act, Man, cir;<br><br>car, R, attr;<br><br><br>sens; M; car, R, attr;<br>car, R, attr; car, R,<br>attr; car, R, attr;<br>goal, ME; act,<br>Mad, goal; act, Man, cir;<br>sens, M, phen; say, V, vbg;<br>act, Mad, goal; act, Mad, cir; | D: Yeah afterwards yes. Uhm-hm. (.) Then. I stay with my: (.) I stay with my granny. (..) With my granny and my aunt also. My aunt was working as a domestic worker (.) in Newlands. (.) AND I WAS. at that time I wasn't/ I was jut/ I was just/ I was a little bit confused with/ with my life.=<br>I: =Uhm.=<br>D: =Because I didn't know maybe I'm gay or what. (.) and I was alone. Always alone. and I was trying to (.) be a straight man. Like I was trying to: be with/ be with girls. (.) But it couldn't happen. They couldn't/ I couldn't make it. Because maybe if I'm busy with a girlfriend (.) maybe tomorrow I don't want to see [this lady]. I said no. I didn't call you. You were supposed to wait for me. [laughs] | abstract<br><br>orientation<br><br>(example) |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I: {*laughs*} | |
| | I: How old were you then? When you were/ | |
| | D: Mm. | |
| act, Mad, goal; sens, M, phen; | -So I met one of my fri/ one of the gay men. One of the guys here in township. In Guguletu. And I see this (.) they can/ | Record of Events eval |
| | I: Mhh. | |
| car, R, attr; sens, M, phen; car, R, attr; | - they can be my friends. Because I can SEE them. They're like me. | eval |
| | I: How did you find them? | |
| act, Man, cir; Man, cir; act, Man; act, Man; car, R, attr; | D: (.) [inhales] They: (.) I was just walking. by the street and going to my/ to my/ to my aunt's: (.) to my aunt's house in KTS. And then they were-and they were s-sitting in (.) they were just grooving in with w/ it wa/ it was a (.) a sheebeen-house. | action action orientation |
| | I: Uh-huh. | |
| say, V, targ; | D: And they call me. | action |
| | I: They just called you over. | |
| say, V; | D: Uhhuh. [They call] | |
| | I: [They didn't] know you? | |
| sens, M, phen; say, V, targ; V, vbg; Mad, goal; act, Man, Circ; | D: They didn't know me! [But] they call me. said come. Come join us. (.) and then I go there. and | eval; action action |
| | I: {*laughs*} | |
| Mad, goal; Mad, goal; act, Mad, goal; say, V, vbg; car, R, attr; car, V, attr | -join them and then drink beer there. {*coughs*} And they. (.) Then we met ch/ we meet each other and they said no. you look like us. we are (bunch of) gays. | action; action verbal action eval |
| | I: Really? | |
| say, V; say, V, targ; car, R, attr; say, V, targ; say, V, vbg; sens, M, phen; | D: I said Who told you I'm gay? (.) Then I asked them. They said No we can see you. | verbal action; reorientation/coda |
| | I: {laughs} | |

This is the first story-text David produces in the interview, occurring in the middle of a 125-clause long segment of speech prompted initially by my opening question "*So...first can you just tell me where you were born?*". The segment includes backchanneling and supporting questions from me but remains very narrator-directed.

The story-text is signaled paralinguistically by emphasis of increased volume, represented textually as capital letters, and several false starts. The Abstract forms the first clause and encodes a single participant – the narrator – associated with an intensive relative process and the Attribute of confusion. *"AND I WAS. at that time I wasn't/ I was jut/ I was just/ I was a little bit confused with/ with my life"*. A non-temporally ordered problem is presented in an Orientation stage through relative processes in Attributes of '*being alone'* and '*trying to be a straight man'* in which the narrator fills the Carrier role.

Dating/ignoring girls is an example given to back up the problem, also using habitual non time-specific aspect. The Recount of Events stage begins with a simple past action-directed Material clause that introduces a new participant, a friend who is also gay. "*So I met one of my fri/ one of the gay men."* Mental and Relational processes that relay the new friends similarities to the narrator give importance to the Record of Events He continues recounting the

sequence of actions that led him to new friends, intermixing Relational and Mental processes that focus on 'visibility' and similarity evaluations. The final re-Orientation/Coda repeats that recognition and similarities to give importance to the text: "*They said no we can see you*".

In recounting the events, David presents them in an unproblematic way, and does not focus on a disruptive event. The Orientation statements sketch a problematic background "*I was alone*" but do not constitute the focus of the text. Instead, the function is to orient the listener to why meeting friends is important. Recognition of common similarities is what the text is about. Here again, David constructs his experience as unproblematic and highlights his similarities to others.

**Text 4.4**
**Sipho: (9) Recount**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | I: Did you think of yourself as gay then? | |
| | S: (.) [Yah.] | |
| sens, M; car, R, attr; | I'd/ I knew that I was different and (.) but eh/ like | abstract |
| act, Mad, | (.) i just wanted | |
| goal; sens, M, (?) | to get rid of this thing. Because I was attracted to other men | orientation |
| phen; sens, M; goal, Mad | but I (thought) that oh. Maybe I've been cursed. (.) And I | |
| (passive); act, Man, cir; | was (.) (clears throat) I used to go to church and in church | |
| act, *Mad*, goal; say, V, vbg; | they used to preach those things. They said that sodomy | |
| sens, M; act, Mad, | something like that. And you feel like you are doing that | |
| goal*; car, R, attr;* | thing. You've got an interest to other men. (.) And then I go | |
| act, Man, cir; sens, M, (phen); | to the/ to the mountain. I thought that coming back (.) by | |
| goal, Mad (passive); | coming back (.) I'd be changed. (.) But (.) it didn't change. | |
| goal, Mad (passive); (?) act, | I didn't (? anything). (.) And then I passed my (matric 2 | action/record of |
| Mad, goal; Man, cir; | syll?and came here.) | events |
| | I: In Cape Town. | |
| act, Mad, goal; act, Man, | S: yeah. I passed my matric and then I went to | action |
| (range); sens, M, | university and there at university I saw that/ I saw a lot of | eval |
| phen; act, Man; sens, M, | (.) other gay people. (.) They were performing. (They like | eval |
| phen; | that) too much. (.) (coughs) Especially the coloureds. (.) | eval |
| act, Man; | Ooh the coloured people they can perform. (.) But I've got. | action |
| (?), Mad, goal (?); act, | Something was calling me to these people. (.) And then I | action |
| Mad, goal; | met a person another gay person by the name of (.) Bonga | eval; |
| car, R, attr; act, Mad, | and then (.) we became friends. (.) and then he introduced | action |
| goal; car, R, attr; | me to other gays and then ooh. (.) It was freedom.{laughs} | Reaction |
| act, Man, cir; car, R, attr; car, | And then I stayed at school. In the rez. (.) And it was very f/ | |
| R, attr; car, R, attr: sens, M; | it was fine. (.) It was fine. (.) But at home they didn't know | |
| car, R, attr; act, Mad, goal; act, | that I was gay. (.)I used to hide it at home and (then you) | |
| Mad, goal; act, Man, cir; sens, | perform it at school and then you're coming home (.) they | |
| M; | know. {laughs} | |

Sipho produced Text 4.4 after a story about going to circumcision school to prove he was a man, surprising his community in doing so, but returning from the mountain to taunts of "*Ooh that's a moffie*" regardless of the ritual. The Orientation stage contains non-temporally ordered processes mainly of doing and thinking. Participants introduced are the narrator, other men, and preachers against the backdrop of his life in the Transkei. Mental processes attach to first person pronoun and general '*you*', positioning the narrator as being very involved in internally experiencing the actions of others (e.g. preaching). The narrator is the passively constructed Goal of

directed Material processes (e.g. be cursed, be changed), except in the beginning and concluding clauses of the stage.

Institutions dominate the Orientation stage and dominate over the narrator as he experiences their effect internally or passively. Church is the main institution mentioned, serving to regulate the status quo of normality, primarily through "*their*" Verbalizations. Circumcision school, represented by the circumstance "*going to the mountain*", is assigned the potential of changing things and righting the disruption to order that Sipho feared was cursing him. That didn't happen.

A new participant – "*matric*" – enters and signals sequentially-bound actions that begin to lead the listener through simple past events (*went to university - met a person - introduce me to others*). "*University*", other gay people, colored people, and friends enter the story as participants. He now focuses the story on one institution – university – which is associated with freedom. People are identified by descriptive adjectives and relationships rather than through their verbalizations (e.g. preaching, saying).

This text is organized around changes. The location changes from rural to urban. Participant institutions change from church and circumcision school to university. Anonymous participants who exercise power through words are replaced by individuals who relate to the narrator through Material clauses (e.g. met, introduced). A feeling of having been cursed is replaced by freedom. The entire text is about disruption, change, and difference. Although he uses Recount structure to present the events, his transitivity choices are characterized by difference.

*Comparison*

The two texts follow the same basic trajectory of events: a state of confusion over difference, meeting a friend, being introduced to other gay men. Sipho tries to change, highlighting his difference, and experiences freedom from his negative thoughts and self-evaluations when he meets others. David acknowledges his difference but tries to behave as a straight man, finding his normality with others in a different context.

The similar events are similarly told as well. Both choose the Recount type and so construct their experience as following an expected path to an endpoint, although that path is not without problems or obstacles. The experience of journeys and "traveling" towards a goal is a general experience that people share, and to invoke it both reassures the listener (e.g. there is nothing seriously wrong that can't be dealt with) and creates solidarity between narrator and listener (Rothery and Stenglin 1997: 239).

*'HIV disclosure'*
**Text 4.5**
**Sipho: (16) Anecdote**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| car, R, attr; act, Mad,<br>goal/range; act, Man; Mad,<br>goal; say, V, targ; car, R, attr;<br>sens, M; *??*<br>say, V; act, Man; say, V;<br>act, Man; car, R, attr; | S: (coughs) It was the 22 of August. (.) And they took blood. And then on the 29th I just have to go there to find the results. And they told me that (.) I was positive. (.) Oh. (.)I didn't know what has happ/ what happened. I was (that) (.) People said that I collapsed. They said that (.) when I wake up I was at Funeka's place. (.)<br>I: Wow. | orientation<br>remarkable event<br>response |
| sens, M; *??*<br>car, R, attr; sens,<br>M; car, R,<br>attr; say, V, targ? say,<br>V, targ;<br>say, V, sens, M; say, V, vbg;<br>act, Man, ben, goal;<br>sens, M,<br>phen; car, R, attr; car, R, attr;<br>car, R, attr; Mad, goal;<br>car, R, attr; car, R, attr;<br>act, Mad, goal; act, Mad, ben,<br>goal; goal, act, Mad; car, R,<br>attr; car, R attr;<br>act, Man; | S: I didn't know what was going on. (.) It was (.) it was like it was the end (.) of the road. (.) (Firstly) I just remember that (.) the only thing in my mind was (.) how am I going to tell my parents? my mother? (.) How am I going to tell my brother? (.) What about my grandmother? (.) They'll say that they know. They'll say this **gayness**. This homosexuality which has given me (AIDS). (.) eh (.) It was (.) It was (.) I/ I don't know what kind of experience was it but (.) it was (.) oh (.) it was the most traumatic (.) period of my life. (.) And uh (.) I didn't have any one to console me. It was (.) like I didn't have. I was having some questions like (.) where did I get this? (.) Who gave me this? (.) Who should I blame? (.) (To 2 syll? myself). (.) why I was so curious. You know. There were a lot of questions. (.) And (.) I (.) But I through all of those things. (.)I just got through. (.) | (very rich eval/reaction section)<br><br>coda |

Text 4.5 is produced in response to a question about the first time Sipho got tested for HIV antibodies. This text follows a short chronology of tests before the one that came back positive.

The Orientation gives the exact date, signaling a very noteworthy event with an unforgettable date. The Orientation focuses on the narrator and introduces no new participants. The Remarkable Event stage is minimally elaborated, progressing through Material processes – "*take blood*", "*find out the results*" – to the Culmination: "*They told me that I was positive*". For this event he chooses a Verbalization, with obligatory Sayer, and an intensive Relational process. Sipho enters the situation as one type of person (HIV-negative) and comes out attributionally changed (HIV-positive). In part, his representation of status change is determined by the general metaphorical and epidemiological constructions of HIV as a state rather than a resolvable event (see Sontag 1993).

There is a subtle but important distinction between Sipho and David's constructions of finding out their positive status. Where David reacts directly to <u>being</u> HIV-positive, Sipho reacts to <u>being told</u> he's HIV-positive. Their immediate reactions follow from this difference. In Sipho's case, his first response is Material "*... I collapsed*" and his second longer response is highly emotional.

The second reaction is very rich in process diversity but all are couched in self-directed talk or thoughts. Sipho gradually introduces participants who need to be told and hypothesizes about their reactions. Although the series of events has already taken place and been resolved (he was outed as positive while in the hospital by an anonymous

phone call), he speaks of his fears as though he were now experiencing them by using the present tense. e.g. "*How am I going to tell my parents?" "Who should I blame?"*

The final clauses do not resolve the situation presented but state in a Coda-like stage that the narrator "*got through*". This is similar to the Reaction stage of Text 4.1. "*But I managed it*". Disorder is not corrected, but it is handled.

Unlike Sipho's other two texts, this one does not have a contrastive structure. The situation is not deemed important because it is different. It is not compared to other situations or other people. The experience remains clearly about Sipho and his reactions.

**Text 4.6**
**David: (4) Exemplum**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| say, V, targ; act, Man?, goal?; Man; act, Man, cir; car, R, attr; act, Mad, goal; say, V, vbg; act, Man; | So I said to (.) myself. I/ I/ I was just checking myself. Let me go to test. To test myself. Because SOMETIMES. You know what? If. my boyfriend came. to my place. Maybe. I'm not there. You can take my boyfriend. Also. So. I said heh. I must go. and test. | abstract orientation<br><br><br><br>Incident stage |
| | I: You're right. [laughs] | action |
| act, Mad, goal; sens, M; car, R, attr; sens, M; car, R, attr; say, V, vbg; act, Man; Man; act, Mad, goal; car, R, attr; say, V, vbg; car, R, attr; say, V, targ, vbg; sens, M, phen; car, R, attr; | D: But I didn't go to fetch my results because I was scared. (?) But I was getting sick all the time. Mhm. (.) But I didn't know. Maybe I'm HIV-positive or what. (.)[coughs] Last year I said no I must go. through to. through to. to-to test again. (..) and I did it to determine if I'm HIV-positive. (.) So I said no okay it's fine- ah but I didn't. I was just telling myself no I musn't. worry about this. I musn't (?) I must just be STRONG. | action<br>action<br>eval |
| | I: Mhmm. | |
| act, Man, cir; car, R, attr; say, V, vbg; car, R, attr; sens, M; sens, M; act, Mad, goal; V, targ; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; car, R, attr; act, Mad, goal; act, Man; sens, M, phen; M; act, Man; say, V, targ, vbg; act(?), V? Man? | D: Mmm. And my friend he was also coming to my place. What's wrong Colin? I said no I'm HIV-positive. Ahhh!? (.) They didn't know. You know maybe they thought maybe I'm going to hide myself. To not telling them. I'm like this and this and this and this. (.) (you're coming ? ) and there are a lot of people. There are a lot of gays/ There are a lot of gays here. (.) But they are hiding themselves. They don't want to talk. Maybe they/ you can see the other one. Maybe see. They don't want to talk. (.) They ask/ I always tell them No you must talk. (..) | action<br>Interpretation |

David's Exemplum (Text 4.6) is sandwiched between stories about other people. Immediately preceding it is a story about his friend becoming ill, needing David's care, and dying of AIDS. Immediately following it is a problem-solution text in which he first proposes getting together and organization to address the problems facing gay HIV-positive men in townships.

The Abstract is realized by a self-targeted Verbalization process, persuading himself to go to test for HIV. Material processes sketch out an orienting example that he should be concerned because of a possibly cheating boyfriend. The temporally-ordered events of the Incident stage begin when he (verbally) takes action to be tested, but doesn't

pick up the results. He takes the decision to go again in evaluated mental thoughts, musings, and self-talk. The central event occurs when his friend visits and David tells him that he's HIV-positive. David's audience also discovers this through David's action.

The Incident stage of testing and telling is followed by an Interpretation stage in which the Incident is assigned importance. It is important that he told his friend because the friend (and others) expected him to hide his status like other gay HIV+ men. David's reaction was unexpected within the sociocultural norms of the community. The norms give his story its intended meaning and he ends his text by criticizing them.

Unlike Sipho, David doesn't report the fears he had upon receiving the news of his status but orients the listener by detailing his fears previous to getting his results. His reaction to his status is coded as verbal action: he doesn't think about it or fear it once he knows, but instead he talks about it. He acts upon others rather than focus on being passively told. This is interpreted as surprising and unexpected in the specific frame of his community.

*Comparison*

Sipho's purpose is to relay his emotional and complex reaction to finding out his status. Unlike other Anecdotes which are given meaning through contrast patterns, here his reaction itself gives importance to the text. Talking as though the fears and worries are unfolding in him as we speak, Sipho relays the disruptive and exceptional event as learning his status.

David also constructs his experience around a similar disruptive event, but chooses to focus on his disclosure of his status instead of learning his status. The purpose of his story is not to convey his emotional reactions but to comment on the norm of silence and to transgress it in his story. His wider purpose, examined in orders of discourse analysis, is to continue to disturb the norm by forming an organization and encouraging other gay men to talk about their status.



### 4.4. Conclusions

Seen within the context of the orders of discourse conventions that structure each text, the interview texts reveal patterns in their constructions of reality. Negotiation is a defining feature of the LH genre, and it surfaces differently in the two texts. David in particular negotiates shifts in subject roles and sequential structure to allow space to further his purpose of enlisting help. In this space he tells stories about other people, offers opinions and solutions to problems that affect many, and broadens the scope of his interview from his own life to the experiences of many.

Generic and transitivity analysis reveal further aspects of the narrators' social reality. Sipho's text is highly structured and uses various ("complex") story types. He highlights difference by setting up comparison-contrast patterns in his story-texts and in his selection of story types (predominantly Narratives and Anecdotes). Story type

choices construct his reality as out of the ordinary – sometimes as a challenge to surmount, sometimes as a challenge to react to. He constructs his reality as atypical. He forms his experiences into structured and highly involving stories, engaging in deep self-reflection and emotionally reacting to events that he has experienced.

David structures his interview as an interpersonal endeavor, rather than one that focuses on his experiences. He draws on casual conversation conventions to present his opinion and advice texts, offering descriptions of life with HIV that apply to many men like him, and telling stories about them as well as himself. He places himself within a wider group by structuring experiences via Exempla, focusing on judgments, assumptions, or community strictures. David's text is relatively unstructured by story. He chooses from a small range of story types, focusing on the normalcy of his life and his similarity to others.

His purpose of starting an intervention organization with help from me (and others) pervades his interview. David's texts are related to his interview purpose. He normalizes his reality in Recounts and patterns of similarity. Recounts account for 50% of David's story-texts. By constructing his experiences as normal, he also casts his own life story as representative of many. In his construction of his life, David sees himself as one of many. He sees how HIV affects people and wants to do something about it. For him, the LH interview is not an opportunity to reflect, but is instead a possible catalyst for action.

# Chapter Five
# Wider Applications

This concluding chapter draws together the wider applications and findings of the study, following the detailed analysis of individual texts in the preceding chapter. Aspects of the narrators' social realities are ungeneralizable to a larger HIV-positive population or to subpopulations within the groups, but this study does arrive at conclusions that are useful to a broader context of LH interview analysis and generic analysis. Firstly, I provide a structural analysis of LH interviews and the effects of power negotiation on discourse conventions. Secondly, I suggest a shift in emphasis in the definition of the story genre. Finally, I present a framework for analyzing discursive context and illustrate how the framework may be applied to text to yield deeper and more informed analysis.



## 5.1. Life History Interview structure

This research establishes a straightforward sketch of discursive conventions associated with the LH interview genre based on methodological literature in the area. This sketch represents the form that LH interviewers may use to structure the speech activity, and presents the perspective of the genre from one participant role. My analysis of conventions used to structure two actual texts fleshes out the sketch of orders of discourse, factoring in the second participant role of narrator. This version of analysis reveals how flexible the conventions of the LH genre truly are. Narrators, given the space to control the floor, may negotiate sequential structure and subject roles, style elements, or consumption and distribution chains.

The empowerment of narrators and de-emphasis of the interviewer are crucial aims of LH interviews; when given the space to negotiate power, narrators will also negotiate discourse conventions in the interview. When working with the LH texts that result we must remain cognizant of this fact and take into account the results of inevitable convention negotiation. This means describing the texts in terms of orders of discourse conventions as a point of departure, isolating shifts of style, sequential structure, etc. For example, in spaces where the narrator has negotiated a shift to casual conversation structure, analysts may find an increase of Opinion texts and a lack of Reminiscence texts. When placed within a broader shift of discourse conventions, other shifts become part of a pattern rather than surprising anomalies. In this way a strong analysis of context helps better explain the text and reveal patterns.

## 5.2. Story types

### 5.2.1. Definition and structure of Reminiscences

Story genre work has primarily been based on texts occurring in casual conversation or sociolinguistic interview genres (Eggins and Slade 1997, Horvath and Eggins 1995, Plum 1988) or in written genres (Rothery and Stenglin 1995). These genres encourage certain story types but may discourage others. Reminiscences are one story type that

we are familiar with as speakers of English, but which has yet to be defined structurally or functionally because of constraints in the genres in which previous generic work has been done. In the LH genre, Reminiscences are encouraged explicitly and therefore must be understood structurally and functionally to account for all story-texts that narrators produce.

I offer a provisional structure and definition of function for Reminiscences but acknowledge that these are drawn from only two examples. More work needs to be done using a larger sample of Reminiscence texts to determine how Reminiscences are typically structured, whether they are used to convey experience as expected or out-of-the-ordinary, what their precise social function is, etc. This is especially crucial to those working with life history interviews, where Reminiscences are very likely to occur.

### 5.2.2. Redefinition of a story-text

In my analysis I found that sequentiality – the recounting of events in a progressive, temporally-marked manner – is not a useful prerequisite for what makes a story-text. To usefully apply story genre work to my interview texts, I needed to de-emphasize sequentiality and emphasize the dual function or middle stages that make stories distinct from other types of texts. A story is in part experientially-focused, nominating of delineating events in the Event Middle stage, but it is also of necessity evaluative, attaching importance to events in the Evaluative Middle stage. The co-existence of these two stages defines a story. A focus on sequential events defines certain types of stories, namely Narratives and Recounts, but is less important in stories that focus on reactions, like Exempla and Observations.

Transitivity analysis demonstrates that similar processes are chosen for all Event Middle stages and for all Evaluative Middle stages. Observation and Reminiscence texts, though marginally compliant in terms of the sequentiality definition, possess the same dual function Middle stages and exhibit the same transitivity patterns as other story types. By decentralizing the requisite sequentiality, offered by Labov in his definition of a single, albeit culturally-privileged story type, it is possible to account for a greater range of texts, including those that do not display strict sequentiality but that are otherwise recognizable as stories and structured as such.

### 5.3. Context

The most persistent emphasis of this research has been on the consideration of context. Emphasis on context is an effective way to critically analyze power negotiation and to problematize and decentralize our expectations of texts as analysts and readers. We may assume that a narrator will talk about his/her life in the same way regardless of the nature of the speech activity, leaving unacknowledged that constraints to what may be said exist at multiple levels of discourse and language. Expectations may take the form of adequacy judgments levied against narrators or interviewers in a LH interview, impeding analysts from recognizing aspects of narrator agency in the negotiation of

discourse conventions. We may have expectations that topic areas like HIV will be constructed as problematic and as an obstacle to be overcome, leading us to anticipate that speakers will choose the ideologically-privileged Narrative form to do the work of righting the disturbance in interviews that address what living with HIV is actually like. How do we fit eight HIV-focused stories, none of which construct HIV as an obstacle to surmount, into these expectations? How do we explain evidence in the texts that doesn't meet our expectations?

The answer is simple. We don't. To hold texts and narrators to the expectations we have as audiences disempowers narrators in the creation of their own life story and diminishes any relevance the texts may have. This process happens at every level at which intruding expectations occur. The solution, as I have illustrated in this thesis, is to re-instate context as the focal point of analysis and ensure that context is emphasized at each level of analysis. I have offered a tri-level methodology in an attempt to achieve context-sensitive analysis. I believe that this methodology or one like it can and should be used by anyone working with life history interview texts or oral texts in general.

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| | |
|---|---|
| **I: So (..) first can you just tell me where you were born?**<br>D: I was born here a/ I was born here in Cape Town. (.) at Peninsula Hospital.(..) Yes. They/ They call it Peninsula Hospital.<br>***I: Where?***<br>D: In Cape Town. Here in Cape Town.=<br>*I: =In Cape Town-Cape Town.*<br>D: Yes. (.) Uhm. (.) Then(.) I was staying with my mother? (.) And my father-MY father and my(.) my mother were not married.(..) And then (.) my mother took me to my grandmother. To my mother's-to my father's mother. (.) Here. (..){coughs}Here in Nyanga. (..) so I grew up here.<br>I: In this house?<br>D: Yes. In this house. (.) I stay with my granny? (.) And my granny took me to the school-to school. (.) Always look after me. (.) And my-my father was working also and the (*blues*?) come here (.) and check and my mother also. (.) {sniffle. cough} Nineteen (.) uh. it was what? Nineteen eighty-three. Oh Nineteen eighty-two my mother. passed away (.) and I stay with my mother. I mean with my granny? And my father also here.<br>I: Um.<br>D: And my father? passed away in nineteen eighty-three. (..) Yes. | *clause 17* |



[2] David is a speaker of the Nguni language, Xhosa. Nguni languages do not mark gender in their third-person pronouns. When speaking a language with gender-specific third person pronouns like English, Nguni speakers may use "he" and "she" interchangeably.

| | |
|---|---|
| D: Yeah afterwards yes. Uhm-hm. (.) Then. I stay with my: (.) I stay with my granny. (..) With my granny and my aunt also. My aunt was working as a domestic worker (.) in Newlands. (.) AND I WAS. at that time I wasn't/ I was jut/ I was just/ I was a little bit confused with/ with my life.= | **1. recount**<br>abstract |
| I: =Uhm.= | |
| D: =Because I didn't know maybe I'm gay or what. (.) and I was alone. Always alone. and I was trying to (.) be a straight man. Like I was trying to: be with/ be with girls. (.) But it couldn't happen. They couldn't/ I couldn't make it. Because maybe if I'm busy with a girlfriend (.) maybe tomorrow I don't want to see (this lady). I said no. I didn't call you. You were supposed to wait for me. {laughs} | orientation<br>(example) |
| I: {laughs} | |
| **I: How old were you then? When you were/** | |
| D: Mm. -So I met one of my fri/ one of the gay men. Oh. One of the guys here in township. In Guguletu. And I see this (.) they can/ | Record of Events- action<br>eval |
| I: Mhh. | |
| - they can be my friends. Because I can SEE them. They're like me. | |
| I: How did you find them? | |
| D: (.) [inhales] They: (.) I was just walking. by the street and going to my/ to my/ to my aunt's: (.) to my aunt's house in KTC. And then they were- and they were s-sitting in (.) they were just grooving in with w/ it wa/ it was a (.) a sheebeen-house. | action<br>action<br>orientation |
| I: Uh-huh. | |
| D: And they call me. | action |
| **I: They just called you over.** | |
| D: Uhhuh. [They call] | |
| I: [They didn't] know you? | |
| D: They didn't know me! [But] they call me. said come. Come join | eval; action |
| I: {laughs} | action |
| - us. (.) and then I go there. and join them and then drink beer there. {*coughs*} And they. (.) Then we met ch/ we meet each other and they said no. you look like us. we are (bunch of) gays. | action; action<br>verbal action |
| I: Really? | |
| D: I said Who told you I'm gay? (.) Then I asked them. They said No we can see you. | reorientation/coda<br>*clause 62* |

| | |
|---|---|
| I: {laughs} | **2. recount** |
| D: So okay no it's fine. no problem. (.) then we meet each other. Then we go in together. Then we ALSO stay together. Because one of them- one of. One of/of/of/ of them she[2] said you know David could you please give me (uh a part) I would like to stay with you. Because I don't have a place to stay. (.) and my-my: {sniffles} my auntie's ah. (.)They are/ they are funny to me and they say to me I'm gay and this and this. I said [no okay | abstract<br>orientation<br><br><br><br><br>orientation |
| **I: [to this girl?** | |
| D: Ye/ No to this/ to this (.) cuz he was also a gay man. he was staying with his auntie in Guguletu. And this in Guguletu now (.) in that place they said they must/ she must just go because (.) he's GAY. (.) So he said to me no he want to stay with me (.) Okay (jak) I said no that's fine because I'm stay alone at my place. So. Because I was stay at. In KTC also. (.) So I left my granny here. Then I stay in KTC. Because I was look after. my aunt's house. (.) My aunt ho/ my aunt's house. (.) He was in KT/ And he's also (.) he was working as sleep-in. he only come on the weekends. | Record of Events<br>verbal action<br>action; eval |
| I: Yeah. | |
| D: So during the day there's no body there. So he said/ she said to me I must stay there. So I said to he/ to her. I'm going to stay with my new friend. She said what you doing? (.) Who's/ who's it? I said no it's my boys. He's (.) he look like me. | V. action<br>v. action; v. action<br>v. action |
| I: Mhm. | |
| D: Said okay no problem. Then he came and he met him. Then he stay (?). Working (.) together also. (.) Then we stay together. I stay together then/ I came because my granny was sick. So I had to come back here. Again. To stay here. (.) So I am/ I was just staying here. (.) then I meet the other people also they are gay- gay people. | v.action; action;<br>action;<br>eval; action<br>action<br>eval |
| I: Mhm. | |
| D: I met them. We was stay together. Sometimes I (.) I/ I just go to stay with them. Then I meet them. I meet a lot of friends. (.) Then that's I wa/ that's why now I ju/ju/ju just I'm coming out. I'm out of the closet now. So I don't have a problem. (.) {sniffles} | action<br>action<br>reorientation/ coda *clause 125* |
| I: **How old were you when you first. saw those guys and they called you over on the street?** | |
| D: They were/ I was oh (.) I was 26. I was. No. I was 20. (.) yeah I was 20. I was 20 years old. | |
| **I: And is that how you met this-this person who couldn't stay: with his. auntie? (.) The one that you then moved in with. in Guguletu.** | |
| D: Yes. What's wrong? | |
| **I: No. Nothing's wrong [laugh] Was he part of the group that you first met? [When you were 20.]** | |
| D: Yes. [Yes ] So they're part of that group. Yes.(..) Now I/ I /I'll. And he left also because he knows I left there in KTC? | |
| I: Ahhuh. | |
| D: Then he come. (.) We stay there together. Then he get his. uh. his place. Then. (.) He was also coming here and visiting me. | |
| **I: He was coming here?** | |
| D: Yes. | *clause 139* |

| | |
|---|---|
| **I: Oh? (..) And what did you're (.) what did your family think about that?** | |
| D: No. He knows. He was not actually my boyfriend.= | |
| I: =Oh okay= | |
| D: =He was my [friend]. As a gay man like me.Yes. So (.)And then I told | |
| I: [just your friend]. | |
| - my friends I was a gay-my friends didn't know I'm gay. | |
| I: Right. | |
| D: So I tell them now. I'm gay. And they say what's/ what-what is that? (.) and they ASK me. (.) | |
| I: Uhhuh. | |
| D: Then I told them no. I'm gay. I'm sleeping with another mans. (.) No::. Yeah. Really? Okay no it's your life David. | |
| I: Really? | |
| D: yes. {clicks}They accepted me. And they are saying no I'm fine now. | |
| I: Wow. | *clause 158* |
| D: Uhm. (.) SO. Yeah. They are/ {clicks} Then my/my/my life was going on on on on on on. (.) So I'm in nineteen what? Nineteen ninety-seven. (.) MY friend. And I meet a/ I meet a lot of people. So there was one of my friends was called Basil. he was s/ he was working in. Groote Schuur as a/ as a (sister in church?). | **3. narrative** orientation<br>abstract |
| I: Uhhuh. | |
| D: He started sick. | |
| **I: He started getting sick?** | |
| D: Mmm. (.) And he said to me no he's going home. He's / His home is in. Kimberely. | action; orientation |
| I: Okay. | |
| Mh. (.) Now he went to Kimberely. (.) and he phone me one day. I was at work. (.) And he said to me. (.) David. I'm sick and I'm HIV-positive. I said Oh no. (.) Really. And I'm coming down to Cape Town. (.) I said okay no problem. (…) And then he come back to Cape Town. And he was very very | action; action; eval<br>verbal action; v.a.;<br>v.a;va;<br>action |
| I: !Mhm. | |
| - sick. He was very very sick. Then I look after him. | |
| **I: Where was he staying when you were looking after him?** | |
| D: He was in. He came to my place here. | |
| I: Okay. | |
| D: Then I said to him. I/ I can't keep you here. because I'm working. Nobody can look after you. (.) | eval; action |
| I: Mhm. | |
| -So you better go to this. To-to my boyz. (.) That's when ah. He was. (seeing me in the tak-) I was | |
| I: Mhm. | |
| - going to KTC. Call me. (.) But then I took him to his place and he was also staying out in Woodstock. | action; eval |
| I: Okay. | |
| D: And then he came. he keep/ keeping there. (.) And he was getting sick and sick and sick and sick. Then I (.) I was off then I go there. (.) and I see him. No he is very sick. (..) {clicks}[3] And then. (..) He was staying there and then he said he want to go to. He's got a house in-in Langa. | action<br>action; eval |
| I: Uhum. | |
| D: {sniffles}. And then we went to Langa? (.) With his family. And his family was knowing he was gay. (woodstock?) [(at the beginning)] | eval |
| I: [They knew?] | |
| D: Yeah. But they didn't know. he's HIV-positive. (..) And then he passed away. (.) Mhm. (..) So he was also my friend. (.) | eval<br>resolution; coda *clause 209* |

[3] Xhosa speakers use verbal clicks as phonemes to form words and for emphasis.

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|---|---|
| So I said to (.) myself. I/ I/ I was just checking myself. Let me go to test. To test myself. Because SOMETIMES. You know what? If. my boyfriend came. to my place. Maybe. I'm not there. You can take my boyfriend. Also. So. I said heh. I must go. and test. | **4. Exemplum**<br>abstract<br>orientation |
| I: You're right. {laughs} | |
| D: But I didn't go to fetch my results because I was scared. (?) But I was getting sick all the time. Mhm. (.) But I didn't know. Maybe I'm HIV-positive or what. (.){coughs} Last year I said no I must go. through to. through to. to-to test again. (..) and I did it to determine if I'm HIV-positive. (.) So I said no okay it's fine- ah but I didn't. I was just telling myself no I musn't. worry about this. I musn't (?) I must just be STRONG. | incident |
| I: Mhmm. | |
| D: Mmm. And my friend he was also coming to my place. What's wrong David? I said no I'm HIV-positive. Ahhh!? (.) They didn't know. You know maybe they thought maybe I'm going to hide myself. To not telling them. I'm like this and this and this and this. (.) (you're coming ? ) and there are a lot of people. There are a lot of gays/ There are a lot of gays here. (.) But they are hiding themselves. They don't want to talk. Maybe they/ you can see the other one. Maybe see. They don't want to talk. (.) They ask/ I always tell them No you must talk. (..) | interpretation<br><br>*clause 250*[4] |
| **I: Those. These group of gays. [ They're] hiding themselves because** | |
| D: [Yes.] | |
| **- they are gay or because they're HIV-positive?** | |
| D: Yes. Or they are HIV- positive. Other. Maybe other one is gay. you don't want to tell. the community must know him he is gay:. But the other one. The other people they can see. No he's gay. (.) because I saw him here in this and this and this. I saw him in one of the (cabin?) maybe in Khayalitsha? And this and this. Yah. (…) So now I was want/ I want to try now. (.) Like (.) to call them. again. to make organisation. (..) and tell them. (.)I'm also positive. I was I'm staying in Nyanga. This and this and this and this. (.) they must KNOW. And then maybe they can come out also. (.) You know? Most specially the gays. Because only the straight people are coming out. And they tell the people now they are HIV-positive and this and this. Which is wrong. We are also gays. We must TALK. (.) You know that? (.) So that's why I was just saying to. to Vuyo. When they have something there they must always call me. (.)I'm/ I'll be there. Because now I'm not working. Because now even now I'm getting a grant. (..) Because I [can't ]. I'm not going to work anymore now. | *clause 280* |
| **I: Because of. the HIV-positive?** | |
| D: Mmm. | |
| **I: Oh okay. (.) So then the government gives you a grant? Or someone else gives you a grant.** | |
| D: No it's the government. | |
| **I: Oh okay. (..) And why do you think you didn't get the test results the first time you took it?** | |
| D: (.) No I was SCARED at that time. I DO want. But I was asking. I thought maybe I'm going to worried you know. and maybe kill myself. But I said NO MAN. (.) It's my (.) I'm ALONE. (.) What's happening now? (.) in life. So let me go again and test myself. (.) *(and tell me now am I HIV-positive)* | |
| **I: How long ago do you first test yourself. get/get tested? (.) The first time when you didn't get the results?** | |
| D: How many what? | |
| **I: How long ago was that?** | |
| D: It was nineteen / ninety-eight. (.) | |
| **I: Ninety-eight.** | |
| D: Yes. | |

[4] Opinion statements follow.
[5] Medicines Sans Frontiers.

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| **I: And then the la/ this most/ this time. You found out in December? (.) [This last time.** | |
| D: Yes. [NO. I found out on Novemb/ on/ on February. | |
| **I: OH. So LAST February.** | |
| D: Yes. Then I was getting/I was getting worse sick. (.) I was sick on on December. (.) I was (sick sick sick sick). | |
| **I: Gotcha.** | |
| D: {coughs}. | |
| **I: When you (..) um. do you when the first time when you got tested. Did anybody else know that you were gonna get tested?** | |
| D: No. | |
| **I: You just decided by yourself.** | |
| D: I was just to j/j/just take myself. | |
| **I: And where did you go. to get tested?** | |
| D: I go to Chapel Street. To Chapel Clinic in Woodstock (?) | |
| **I: And did they (.) did they give you a pre-test before hand?** | |
| D: They give me pre-test. | |
| **I: They did.** | |
| D: Yes. (..) | |
| **I: And then they tested you and then you were supposed to come back but that didn't happen.** | |
| D: Yes. They said I must go there and get my treatment there also. (.) | |
| **I: So they told you all that stuff there at Chapel Clinic. Mhm** | |
| D: Yes. | |
| **I: And then *last* February (.) were did you go to test?** | |
| D: (.) I go there to Chapel [Clinic.] | |
| **I: [to Chapel] Clinic also. (.) And then how long afterwards did you find the results? You had to test and then you had to come back and fetch the results?** | |
| D: Yes. (.) I had to go back and fetch the results and then they told me I'm HIV-positive. Then they ask me if I want to take my medication there I can take my medication there. also. (.) I said no problem. I can take my medication there. | |
| **I: So that's what you did?** | |
| D: *Yes.* | |
| **I: And do you still go there?** | |
| D: No I'm not going there anymore because. I went to a doctor there was a doctor here. They call that-that place MSF.[5] | |
| I: Uhum. | |
| D: And then I get my medication there. Which is not far from me. *From here .* | |
| **I: uhum.(..) And does the grant from the government help get the medication? Or? (.) How do you get the medication?** | |
| D: I get the medication free medication. | |
| I: Oh is it? | |
| D: Yes. Mmm. | |
| I: Okay. *That's [interesting.]* | |
| D: [Like ]vitamins. | |
| **I: And what else did they tell you that you have to do?** | |
| D: They said I must look after myself. now. I must. always use condoms but-they ask me about my sexuality I said no not now. Before. But now. I'm getting sick. They said to me okay now you must use | |
| I: ! Umhm. | |
| -condoms. ALWAYS. (.) If you get/if you (can ?) sexual (.) you must always use a condom. Mmm. | |
| I: !Umhm. | *clause 346* |

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| **I: U/Did they know that you were gay there?**<br>D: Yes I told them. (.)<br>**I: You told them?**<br>D: Yes I told them. (.)<br>**I: And. How was that? (.) How did they (.) how did they respond to that?**<br>D: NO: there's nothing. [ They used to-They used to that.] They used to gays people now. (.) Like<br>**I: ! Okay. [That's good to know]**<br>-before they were just (.) Ahhh?! (expression of surprise) But now. They used to it. *They used to (it? me?).(.)* | *clause 753* |
| **I: When you first came home that day after they first told you you were HIV-positive (.) how do you remember feeling?**<br>D: !Mmm.<br>D: There was nothing (4syll.?). There was nothing really really. (..) Even. I was thinking this. I was thinking (5 syll.?) I was just. telling myself maybe I'm going to die. (..) (Inhales) I was just stay at home and (.) and get my medication and they find out I'm/I've got the TB also.<br>**I: TB?**<br>D: Yes.<br>I: Mmm.<br>D: Now I'm getting my treatment also. (..) It's going to be my last month this week.<br>**I: Uhum. And then it will be done?**<br>D: Yes. (..) They took me yesterday.<br>**I: ! That's good. That's good.**<br>D: That's good yes.<br>**I: (.) Do you remember who the first person was that you told (.) you were HIV-positive?**<br>D: (.) Yes.<br>**I: *Who was it? Who did you ch/ who did you tell?***<br>D: (.) It was my friend. (.) Yes one of my friends who's coming. Ben. Do you know Ben?<br>I: !Was it.<br>**I: I don't think so.**<br>D: He's He was working there in Triangle Project before.<br>I: Ohh.<br>D: Mmm. (..) (Benny- full name of friend).<br>**I: No I don't think so.**<br>D: (.) He was working there. | *clause 372* |
| (.) SO AH AH (.) If you-if you somebody's wh/interviewing you.<br>I: uhum.<br>D: Is there-is something you got? You-you getting or what? (.)<br>I: Uhum.<br>D: Ohh. (.)<br>I: **What a/what will I be. getting? (.)**<br>D: Like if somebody's is interviewing. Like you coming to interview me. (.) you get something or what?<br>I: !Uhum.<br>I: **What do I get? (.) I wo/I use it for my Masters thesis. (.) So what I**<br>D: ! Yes.<br>**- do is uhm. You take little pieces of it and trying to figure out- you know just to know more about (.) how HIV works and how people respond to it (.) Especially when you are gay. (.) When maybe it's not the easiest thing**<br>D: ! Yes.<br>**- because a lot of people who are HIV-positive are (.) straight.**<br>D: No I'm asking this if like you coming here (.) to interview. I'm getting<br>I: !Mhum. | |

- something or what?
I: **I can/ yeah. I/ I'm giving like 15 Rand. (.) [*That's what I can do.]***
D: [okay okay]
**- And a phone card (.) and then I can also: (.) I've got all this information.**
**D:** !Yes.
**It's just pamphlets and also other things (.) So *hopefully* (..)definitely at**
D: !Okay.
**- the end (..) just let me know if uhm (..) if there's a way that I can help you like if (.) if you: especially if you're in a case where (.) like you don't have enough warm cl/warm bedding? or something like that (.) that's**
D: ! Yes. yes.
**- something I can help with (.) because I can go back to the organizations.**
D: !Yes.
**-To [Triangle.] To Joy of Like. And say. I know this person who really**
D: [To Triangle. Yes.]
**-needs help? And then I can help that way.**
D: Okay.
I: **Or if you don't want me to get involved like that. I can give you the information and you can call them yourself or then I don't have to (.)**
D: !Okay.
**-er if you want to do it yourself that's also fine.**
D: No problem. Okay.
I: **Does that answer it?**
D: {sniffles}Hmm?
I: **Does that answer your question?**
D: Yes. Yes. You answered my question. Yes.
I: Okay.
D: (Sniffles)
I: **Do you think that there's any other th/ that there's other things that I could do?**
D: Yes because I'm stay with my: (..) with my aunt. (.)
I: Uhuh.
D: You know? (..) And uh (.) you see my aunt and my granny also-(my granpas) two (granpas). So I must also look out for them [you know?] (.) And
I: [uhum]
- also they /and/th/ and they are also looking after me also. (.) So that's what I mean maybe I need help sometimes. I'm getting some blankets or what so (2 syll?) you know because I'm not working now [anymore.] You know. Mmm.
I: [that's ]
I: **Yeah. I can definitely arrange that. (.) I can arrange for (.) like (.)**
D: !Yes? !Ye:s
**- like quilts and things (.) and Triangle has said that if people re/ like need (.) the food. (.) Because sometimes you have to have a special diet. (.)**
D: !Yes.
**- [You know] when you're HIV-positive. That they will help arrange that.**
D: [Diet. Yes. Yes.]
D: Okay. Yes that's fine.
I: **Yeah. So it's mainly like I can get you in contact with the organisations that help (.) and make it easier. So you don't have to do it [yourself. Cuz sometimes it's a lot of work.] Yah.**
D: [Yeah. Okay. yeah sometimes it can be. Yes.] Mmm.
I: **And I/ if there are other things that you need just tell me and I'll see what I can do.**
D: Yes. Okay.
I: **[You know? So. yeah. ] *That's what I can do.* (....) So just must think of {laughs}**
D: {coughs} Okay {laughs}
D: And what else now? What must [I say?]

*clause 390*

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| **I: [Um.] {laughs} you can say whatever you want. (.) No but I'm wondering how did this/ did Benny? Is that his name?** | **5. recount** |
| D: Yes. | |
| **I: How did he feel. How did he react when he heard about?** | |
| D: He was worried shame. He was worried and he said. And he also took me there to go to the doctor. (.) He said I must go there. Because I was/ that doctor don't take people from-from Nyanga Guguletu (.) [(1 syll)] or Langa. They only took people from Khayalitsha only. | orientation<br>Record of Events<br><br>eval |
| I: Ohh. | |
| D: Yes. (.) But I said/ uh/he say/ he phoned (.) the-the doctor in (Charity?) tell them David is coming there and this and this and this. So I | action |
| **I: So then you could go.** | |
| D: Yes. That's why I was going there. (.) And they took there (.) But they always got a problem they said (.) if I'm/ I'm not/ I'm staying here on this side they won't come (.) to me maybe to check me. you know. (.) {coughs} because I'm not staying in Khayalitsha. (.) but I was also going to the clinic of Guguletu. (.) And I was sleeping/ I was/ they took me to hospital (.) St Luc's Hospital. (..) Mmm. I was sleeping there for: two weeks. (..) | eval. action<br>eval<br>action<br>*clause 411* |
| **I: Was this right at the beginning? [When you were] (.) diagnosed?** | |
| D: [Yes. Yes.] {sniffles} | |
| **I: Because you were sick then?** | |
| D: Yes I was sick then yes. (..) So ah/ sometime there's a nurse who're coming here. and check me. | |
| **I: There's a nurse that comes here? Oh good.** | |
| D: Yes. To check me. Sometimes over the week. They come to check me. | *clause 415* |
| **I: So you're friend (.) when they first found out. helped you get help?** | |
| D: Ye:s [shame no he was looked after me]. He always come here and check me. What are you | |
| **I: [*that was very nice*]** | |
| - doing? I said I'm fine. doing? No (1 syll?) problem. {sniffles} He said okay and (something they were doing was washing also) he also ask me. No you don't touch the water. I'll do it myself. {laughs} {sniffles} | *clause 426* |
| **I: And what about your other friends. who you told?** | |
| D: And the other friends also they are always coming here. (..) When bring something for me:. Sometimes. something to feed me. They are said now I don't have money. And they bring it. also. (.) They look after me shame. (.) all of them. (.) {sniffles} | |
| **I: And what happened when you told your family? (.) Or did you tell them?** | |
| D: I told them. there was nothing. (..) They accept it. (..) {coughs} | |
| **I: Were they worried for you?** | |
| D: Pardon? | |
| **I: Were they worried for you?** | |
| D: They worried to me they worried. Most special my aunt. (.) And my granpa also. (.) Worried about it. (…) | *clause 438* |

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| **I: And dy/ (…) Has it/ has your changed any much since you found out that you were HIV-positive?** | **6. Recount** |
| D: Nothing changed. | initial response |
| I: No? | |
| D: No. (so nothing changed) | |
| **I: So [(were)]** | |
| D: [I was] got like boyfriend. I was still with my boyfriend. (.)I was busy with my boyfriend for five years. (.) But when he/ maybe I dunno maybe (.) because he (.) because I didn't tell him that I'm HIV-positive. (.) But he never come again. Ever since I was sick. (.) | (revised) orientation<br>abstract |
| I: Really? | |
| D: Mmm. He never come back. (.)I always sometimes phone him. And I want to TELL him now. (.)I'm ready to telling him. (.) But he don't want. (.) He don't respond. I always left my phone number there at his home (.) but he don't phone. I dunno why. Maybe he heard about me about me being HIV-positive I don't know. (.) Mmm. | record of events<br>eval |
| I: Hmm. Yeah. | |
| D: But he don't phone me. (2 syll?) (.) Don't do nothing. That's what. that's fine. Maybe I'll see. (.) Maybe he see me (ma 1 syll?) one day. (.) You know David and said come. To my place I want to tell you something. Because I must tell him. | eval<br>eval<br>resolution/coda<br>*clause 464* |
| I: Yah. | |
| D: Mmm. (…) | |
| **I: Have you seen anybody. Have you had any other boyfriends since then? (..) Since you found out?** | |
| D: Yes. (.) Before him. | |
| I: uhum. | |
| D: Mmm. (…) In Langa. Because. I was staying like in Langa there. Sometimes I'm st/ I was staying Langa. In Guguletu also. (.) WE busy at that time. We very busy. | |
| I: {laughs} (..) How did you meet them? | |
| D: We meet them in the town. In the (.) like in a (.) sheebeen. Or in a (town?). Or sometimes in a nightclub. | |
| I: Uhum. | |
| D: Mmm. | |
| **I: And how did they know:? I mean how did you:? Did you know that they were gay: right away?** | |
| D: No I don't know. Maybe (I) come. They only see us (a 2 syll?). They just come in to talk. (.) And I ask them what did you know me? Okay. Why are you coming to me? (.) Said no I can see you. {laughs} | |
| **I: So they come up to you [and say] *stuff like that*?** | |
| D: [yes.] | *clause 478* |
| **I: What was your longest relationship? (..) You're longest. The person you were with the longest? Was it this man? [The five year.]** | |
| D: [It was this one. That's.] yeah. | |
| **I: Ah. And now he doesn't call?** | |
| D: umhumh. Ever since I was getting sick. (..) He doesn't call me. (..) Even when I'm phoning there. They said. (.) Maybe he's with his granny. No he's not here. Maybe he's there. (.) Because I always go (.) before I used to phone. and ah/ I find him. (.) Sometimes I'm not/ he's not there(.) then I left a message. Then he phone me back. (.) But now he don't do it. But anyway. Okay let me leave it. (.) Because I'm sick so I musn't feel about those things. Otherwise I'm going to get sick. (.) Worse. (…) Mmm. I just look after myself. That's all. (.) Mmm. (.) Then I just telling myself. (.) | *clause 456* |

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| **I: So uhm (..) so you're not with anybody now?**<br>D: Noo.<br>**I: (.) And have you been with anybody since this –the five year? guy?**<br>D: Before?<br>**I: No. (.) Ever/ After.**<br>D: After. No.<br>I: Awhh. | *clause 456* |
| D: {chuckles} I'm just s/ (.) because (.) ever since I was getting sick now I-I said to myself no I must just stay at home and busy in cleaning my room. (.) And reading. That's also sometimes I'm going to town. To the library. Then I'm coming back. That's all. (.)<br>**I: Why? Because you're sick (.) [or you're like?]**<br>D: No just because [I ju/ju/ jus ] I don't feel like it. Because I ju/ju/ I'm just telling myself no. I must look after myself that's all.<br>**I: Okay. (…)**<br>D: Even now. I'm not/ I'm not even drinking anymore. (..)<br>**I: Wow. (..)**<br>D: Nah I'm not drinking anymore. I've given it up cuz I'm just telling myself nah I'm not getting I/ I/ I'm still sick. (.) So I don't want to. (.) Because ever since I was start getting sick (.) because I was drinking and I got a hang over. and it's getting worse e/ and worse sometimes. If it's starting on Monday Tuesday Wednesday I said no (.) it's too much. So I have to. just drop | *clause 481* |
| I: ! No.<br>- it.<br>I: Shaww.<br>D: Mmm. (..)<br>**I: So do you see your friends? Even if you don't go to the sheebeens?**<br>D: Yes I see my friends. Sometimes they come here.<br>**I: Oh they come here.**<br>D: Mmm. (.) Sometimes I phone them. Then I go there ( spend a 2 syll?) to them. (.) Then I come back on Sundays. (..) Just to keep me busy. (.) | *clause 508* |
| **I: Hey (.) can you uh (..) it's too bad that you didn't get to come: to Salt River for the Youth Day.**<br>D: Yes it was too bad really because I did want to go there. (.) But they didn't (.) bec/ the/ they invited people (.) but I didn't know there was something happening there. And I was always say/ I always say to Vuyo if there is something there you must phone me. (..) Or you must come and fetch me. Or phone me an/ and I can go there. (..) Yes. Then if there is something happening. Because I want to (work). (.)I want to be (in the(.) organisation) and (..) if I'm there/ maybe they want I must talk. I can tell the people I'm HIV-positive and this and this and this and this. (.) And then the people they can come out. (.) | *clause 508* |
| **I: Sounds like you're very eager to do that. (.) That's a good idea.**<br>D: Mmm. It's a good idea really. because (..) there are maybe the others like this guy I told you. He's Sipho. His name is Sipho. (..)<br>**I: Yeah [Robert was. yeah ]**<br>D: [He stays] he stays with his uh. (Although) maybe with his aunt or what so (…) {coughs} He's just getting worse and worse because (.) sometimes they chase him away there. (.) Do you know? Like (.) if I am staying here and my aunt said to me no go. I don't want to see you here. Because you are HIV-positive. (.) People are/ are/ are like that. (.) You know that? (.) Most specially in the-in the-in the township. (..) In our community. (..) If you are HIV-positive they don't want to (spo?)/ they don't want to/ they are not even touching your (.) your **cup**. (.) Because you are HIV-positive. (.) Which is wrong. | **7. exemplum**<br>abstract<br>orientation<br>action/incident<br>interpretation<br>coda/interpretation *clause 525* |

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| **I: That's very wrong. (.) What do you think will make that better? (..)** | *Opinion* |
| D: If (.) people can come out. and talk. Then maybe it can be better. (.) Then you talk like you I said to you maybe I've got a problem this and this and this. Then you can do something for me. And this and this and this. (.) You know? (..) So you/ they must come out and talk. (..) You can share. Even in Khayalitsha. There is the support groups there. (.) Sometimes I'm going there. (.) Like Thursday I'm going there. (..) Other people you can talk Wi/ and you must do this and this and this. You've had a lot of. They can tell you what you must do. (.) And then (.) getti/ comfortable. (.) You know? (..) Sometimes the other people they sick. They don't even tell their/ their family. (.) (because they scared). (..) Or they go to- they go to take the medication they just keep quiet when they come back. (.) Which is **wrong**. (..) They must come out and tell their family. (..) | *opinion*<br>*evidence*<br>*clause 549* |
| **I: How do you like the support group in Khayalitsha?** | |
| D: Pardon? | |
| **I: How do you like it? The support group.** | |
| D: (.) It's nice. Ooh. [It's very nice.] yes a lot of people are HIV-positive. | |
| **I: [Does it help?]** | |
| -(.)Most people are the str/ They-They are straight people. (.) | |
| **I: In that group do they know that you are gay?** | |
| D: Mmm. I told them. (.) I told them. (.) | |
| **I: How do you [think** | |
| D: [Be/ | |
| **I: Oh no go ahead.** | *clause 555*[6] |

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| D: (..) And they said to me (.) you've got friends. I said yes I've got friends but they don't want to come out. (.) But I want to tell them sometime we have something happening there. And then I tell them they must come out. And tell their and jus/ just/ just say maybe I'm HIV. I was diagnosed this an this and maybe last year. (.) {coughs} So I said to them you must come out. (..) Because there is no use to just s/ sit and think I'm HIV-positive. What I'm going to do now? (.) And this. You know? Maybe the other they don't have even medication. (.) they don't want to go to the/ to the clinic. (..) [But he]<br>I: [Do you]<br>-knows that he's HIV-positive. (.) Which is wrong. (.)<br>I: ! yeah<br>**I: Do you think that's just cuz they are scared?**<br>D: Pardon?<br>**I: Why do you think that's. Why do you think they don't want to even go get their medicine?**<br>D: It's because maybe they are worried about the people. (..) In the comm./ in the township. (.) Maybe they going to see me. Maybe him or her (.) is HIV-positive. Maybe there is somebody who was there. Maybe saw him there. You know? (.) {clicks} He's scared. Because if he stays there (.) you can't help it. (.) Just tell yourself. I'm HIV-positive. And also I'm also like (.) before. (.) You know? Just look after yourself. That's all. | *clause 594* |
| **I: What do you think would make them feel more (.) [more able to say it?]**<br>D: [It's to just (.) ] come out. (.) And tell th/ and/ and speak-speak out. (.) And tell him family or his (.) what so ever. Maybe his friends. But not the whole friends. But. (.) The friend that you know who is going to be (.) worried about you and is going to is going to look after you you know? (.) Not the whole people. Not saying you must tell the whole world. But so you/ If you/ sp/ maybe you can/ just tell the whole world. (..)<br>**I: Would it be better?**<br>D: Yes. It would be better. And you can live a long time. | *clause 605* |
| **I: Do you think that a support group would help them do that?**<br>D: Ye::s.<br>I: Yeah.<br>D: Yes. (..) you share your problems there. And everything and then maybe the others they said no I'm (.) I'm/ I'm staying with my ma and my ma don't want to eat/ they don't make even the food maybe. (.) It's always hungry. It's because he's HIV-positive. You know? (..) (You can tell those stories there.) (.) {sniffles} | *clause 62* |
| **I: And you-how do you feel about your life now?**<br>D: About my life?<br>**I: Yeah. Just in general.**<br>D: (..) I feel much better.<br>I: Better?<br>D: yes. I feel much/ I feel like before. I don't just (hating) in myself now. I'm HIV-positive and my life is going to-is going to change now. (..) I'm feeling like/ before. I'm like before.<br>I: Uhuh.<br>D: Mmm.<br>**I: Now wa/ if you had to talk/ if you got a chance to talk to somebody who (.) just found out they were HIV-positive (.) what would you tell them? what would you say to them? You know maybe as advice (.) or-or recommendations. What do you think they should know? (.) Or hear?**<br>D: About me? | *clause 621* |

[6] Clauses 555-650 contain many opinion statements, as well as opinion-eliciting questions.

**I: No just about (.) I mean what should they? (.) Not necessarily about you (.) but (..) maybe would you encourage them to (.) come out or?**
D: Yes I would. I would encourage them to come out. They must come out. They musn't think about. They musn't fear it. You know. They must just tell/ you must just tell yourself now I am like this. I'm HIV-positive. (.) That's all. (.) They musn't think about that. (.) they must just say I'm like before. (.) yeah you know. They musn't / they musn't fear it. (.) because if you always fear it you always getting worried. you getting **worse** sick you know? (.) Then you die.
**I: That sounds like good advice.**
D: Mmm.
I: Sheesh.
D: So you must just be **strong**. (.) And tell them they must be strong. And then don't fear it. That you are sick. You must tell them. You must just take it as someone who's got a cancer. Somebody's who's got a/ / high blood. Or/ Or (.) sugar diabetes-diabetes you know? You must like/ like the other diseases. There's a lot of diseases. (.) Mmm. [So you must] just take it
**I: [No that's true.]**
-like that. That's all
. **I: Yah.**
**I: That's very good. My-my girlfriend just got diagnosed with diabetes. (.) And she had such a fright because you have to really change you life. (.) You can't eat whatever you want anymore. You have to be very: you have to really focus on yourself. (.) And it's scary. At first. But then she was like. You know this is just like. being HIV-positive or anything else. (.) You just have to know that you're the same. And you might have to make little differences but (.) you're fine. (.) Yah.**
D: That's why you. I always said. When I go-go to the clinic. If you are sexually er/active. (.) You must always use a condom. (.) **Always**. The condom must be there. (.) I say no problem. {sniffles}But ever since I was getting sick I didn't. Mmm. I always sitting at (va?) Always at home. Always. All the time. (.) look after myself. Keep me warm. (.) {sniffles}. (..) I'm not even going to the-to the- what is this. To the sheebeen. (.) Because we used to go to the sheebeen sometimes. Every weekend. But not ever since I was (..) getting-getting sick I never do. (.) I was just looking after myself.
**I: If you wanted condoms now. Like tomorrow night. Where would you. find them?**
D: (.) I find them in the clinic (4 syll?)
**I: Like the one? Which clinic?**
D: In Khayalitsha.
**I: Oh in Khayalitsha. So is it hard to find them?**
D: It's not hard.
**I: Oh okay. That's good.**
D: Sometimes they give me box.
**I: Eeeh! {laughs} You go through all those?**
D: Even from (.) the time we used to go to Triangle Project they were/ they also give us a box.

*clause 650*

*clause 670*

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| **I: Yeah. Yeah. That's nice. {laughs}. May I ask you just a couple questions more about uhm. (.) when you were younger. (.) Like when (..) you said that you were um. You were raised pretty much with your grandma around.** | |
| D: Yes. | |
| **I: Do you remember any (.) very much what your relationship was like with her?** | |
| D: (.) With my? | **8. Recount** |
| **I: With your gran. (.) With your granny.** | |
| D: With my granny. Oh it was lovely. (.) Even I miss her. Even now. She was. I was staying/ And he/ he. She/ She's understand me. (.) An I told her I'm gay. And she didn know what's a gays. And I explain. (.) And tell her. [What was /Because of ] my life. She said okay no problem. It's [your life.] | orientation<br>Record of Events |
| **I: [you had to tell her?] [she wasn't even]** | |
| **I: She wasn't even mad?** | |
| D: Pardon? | |
| **I: She wasn't even sad or?** | |
| D: Nothing. (.) So he said/ She said No problem. It's your life David. But you must look after yourself. (.) Please. (…)I said okay. No problem granny. (.) There was nothing (3 syll?). But it was nice. (.) Yeah. | reorientation<br>*clause 687* |
| **I: Were there other people. Other adults who were around? Maybe your aunt you said. When you were little.** | |
| D: What's wrong with them? | |
| **I: Were:. You had your grandma in your life when you were little. (.) And also your auntie.** | **9. exemplum** |
| D: Yes. Yes. | |
| **I: This lady here?** | |
| D: Yes. And I also tell them. I also tell them. I'm gay. Because my grandma didn't tell them so I tell them. They just took it like this. (.) There was no problem. Because I was just. They only see me from the. From my childhood. Because I was/ I used to cook. (.)I used to cook sometimes they buy a chicken (.) from there. (.) a live chicken. (.) Then they make it. Then they give me those things inside me/ the chicken. (.) | orientation<br><br>Incident |
| **I: Yeah. The insides.** | |
| D: Mmm. (.) {clicks} So I used to cook. for myself. Yeah. (.) And I used to (.) play with **dolls**. You know. | |
| I: Okay. {laughs} | |
| D: Mmm. I used to stay with those. SO they see me at that time. Maybe he's going to be. Maybe he's going to be a gay man. | interpretation<br>*clause 709* |
| I: Heee! | |
| D: Mmm. | |
| **I: Did your auntie know what that was? (.) What it /what a gay man was? Or did you also have to explain it to her?** | |
| D: Yes I do. I made to explain her. (.) So I explain and then they say no problem. | |
| **I: Were there any older men?** | |
| D: Pardon? | |
| **I: Did you have an uncle? Or (.) your grandpa.** | |
| D: Grandpa. yeah. | |
| **I: There was a grandpa. And (.) did you tell him?** | |
| D: Yes I also tell him. (.) There was nothing happening. (.)I was so lucky. {chuckles} | |
| **I: Yes you were lucky.** | |
| D: (Very lucky) | |
| **I: That's very nice. (..)** | |
| D: Any other questions? | *clause 712* |

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| **I: (.) (I keep 3 syll?) Oh actually. (.) can I just. Do you remember any (.) people that you used to play with when you were a kid? What were your friends? Do you remember who your friends were?**<br>D: Yeah. Yes. I remember them.<br>**I: Can you tell me about them?**<br>D: Because I was stay/ I was also a/ I was play all the time with girls.<br>**I: Oh girls.**<br>D: Mmm. (.) I never us/ I us/ I never used to play with other (.) boys. I always us/ I always/ I always play with the girls. (..) Always sometimes (.) we playing uh. We call this (poppees). (.)<br>**I: Poppieyes.**<br>D: Yes.<br>**I: What's that like?**<br>D: (.) It's like<br>**I: Or how do you play it?**<br>D: It's like eh. poppiees. (.) You play with the popps you know? Popps. (.) Dolls.<br>**I: Oh dolls.**<br>D: Yes. (.) And then you make houses outside there. (.) And you play there. (.) But I used to say to myself (.)I used to (. .) and say. I'm a mom. I always want to be a mum. I don't want to be a father or what. I want to be a mum. Always. Always (w ?). So. (.) There was two girls from here next door but they passed away long time ago.<br>I: Ohh.<br>D: {coughs} And uh. Here they know me. (.) They know me. I used to play with dolls. (.)<br>**I: That's nice that you're/ that you're in the same area.**<br>D: yah. Yah they know ever/ they know I am gay here. [But they know<br>I: [Did you know<br>No go on.<br>D: But they used to/ They used to see me because I was always play with lad/ with the/ with the girls always like this and they say. yes we saw you that time you were a child. you going to be a gay man. (.) {laughs} | **10. exemplum**<br>abstract<br><br>orientation<br><br>Incident<br><br>Interpretation<br><br>restated Interpretation<br><br>*clause 739* |
| **I: {laughs} Do you think it makes it easier for them to understand?**<br>D: Yah. But the other one they don't want to understand but the other one you understand. But before they didn't want to understand. (.) They used to call us moffi:es. (.) But so ever. But now they don't even call me that. But **before**. (..) They used to call us moffies. Sometimes they throw a/ a stones to us.<br>**I: Who would throw stones?**<br>D: (.) People here.<br>**1: Like kids or older people?**<br>D: The older people.<br>I: Really. (.) Shoosh.<br>D: (.) *But they don't do this anymore.* They don't do that anymore.<br>**I: How/ Why do you think they changed?**<br>D: Maybe they/ they understand us now. Sho I don't know. {sniffles}They see it's happening {laughs} Mmm. And it's maybe a lot of people now are gay. Mmm. They are coming out (2 syll?)<br>**I: Maybe that helps. (.)**<br>D: Mmm.<br>**I: Did you know any tomboys when you were younger? Like little girls who played boys games.**<br>D: (.) No. No. (..)<br>**I: We have a lot of those in the US.**<br>D: Really?<br>I: Yeah.<br>D: Oh. | |

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| **I: We always talk about tomboys.**<br>D: Okay.<br>I: But.<br>D: I only see tomboys here at the time/ that this/ what is this? When I joined this organisation ABGAILS. (.) Then I see tomboys there. (.) Mmm. (.) Like one of them is Funeka. You know Funeka?<br>**I: Funeka I know. I saw her yesterday.**<br>D: Yes. Mmm Okay. So I always see Funeka. I meet Funeka. (.) Then I see there's a tomboy. And we meet the others now. They are coming/ And do you know what? Funeka (.) helps people a lot. (She say) come out now. (.) because we didn't know there's a/ there's a tomboys. (.) But they come out. (.) Because Funeka went / talking/ and tell them. And sometimes/ always sometimes going to the radio station. (.) And talking there and so. And they come out. There's a lot of tomboys.<br>**I: There's a lot.**<br>D: Mmm. there's a lot. (.) Mmm.<br>((ending chat)) | *clause 776* |